433 241 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural
178 society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution.
[128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 *The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions*. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to
[567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro
[249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3]
[231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco
[244] [249] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of
[179] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the
[249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (*engenho*), which
[471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of
the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three
249 [244] important crops—sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

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in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

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By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10] Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

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162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely
corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white,
22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto,
49 per cent.[12]

175 The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567 436 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
276 rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
[273] source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of
[249] tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized
in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
244 433 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
[567] was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to
purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By
1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in
Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the
shortage of this essential foodstuff.

241 In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
262 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
175 433 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown
on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were
maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills.
For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of
249 433 old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic
agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

241 433 178 In contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 249 [492] The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive. The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo backlands. [464] [567] The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the Guinea Coast of Africa. [177] These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 249 464 567 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to provide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil. [162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 563 567 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegenation. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 167 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

175 198 249 439 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo. The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 249 [illegible] 565 567 471 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.

> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
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> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. [466] These sugar Engenhos, because of their collective and independent existence, produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil, that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters and became the dominating factor in the movement for independence. 175 249 471 565 [668]
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> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

> 175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in
> the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season,
> June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views
of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent
era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by
the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The
wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable.
Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class
life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of
the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social oppor-
tunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas
[342] grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical—generally
[489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult:
few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or
[571] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown
[484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class
could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made
frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and
175 249 567 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists
and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were
relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These
slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British
began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and
delegation of administration to people outside the family was not
usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out
of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively
personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation-
[563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

175 249 567 the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as [563] members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic 565 position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or [463] [554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the *engenho*, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population 161 162 of the *comarca* (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere 633 162 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 567 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

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563 was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the
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567 people were slaves.[34]

175 Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the
249 sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.
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TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR _ENGENHOS_ OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500	$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of _reis_, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.
Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the _engenho_, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the _senhor de engenho_ is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

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175 249 433 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets
at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB
175 433 The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by
the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of
Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured
NB EB [316] by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas,
which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less
strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brazil,
EB 175 433 316 241 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial
opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had
a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially
in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the
South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to
agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo
were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of
Brazil.

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175 The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

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BB 175 567 648 [439] There is a historical connection between the events which first
bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in
the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it
also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

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BB interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century
175 the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government
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648 began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

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175 The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was
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249 doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also be-
178 cause of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

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EB At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting
NB 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons,
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439 and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly
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249 Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia
000 fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

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The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

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In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

128 orientation. This will be followed by a discussion of demography as a basis for the understanding of the agricultural economy.

181 *The People of the Recôncavo - Introduction.* The Recôncavo is the nucleus of a sub-culture which is a distinctive but integral part of the national culture of modern Brazil. Throughout Brazil the *Baiano* is characterized by a formality of behavior, an oratorical turn of speech, a sentimental attachment to the region of his birth, and a special accent which distinguishes him from the *Mineiros*, *Paulistas*, *Gaúchos*, or Pernambucanos of the other Brazilian regions.[4] These superficial distinctions seem to be a reflection of deep-seated differences in the culture and personality of the people who live in the Recôncavo and in the surrounding zone. On another level, the culture and personality of the people of the northeastern coast, including the inhabitants of the Recôncavo, is unlike that of the *sertanejos* (people of the arid northeastern interior—the *Sertão*).[5] Some of the culture and personality traits of the Recôncavo have a significant relationship to local agricultural phenomena.

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567 The *Baiano* of today, as has been seen, is the product of several centuries of historical evolution along lines distinct from those of Central and Southern Brazil and to a lesser degree from those of the rest of the Northeast. A significant feature of the development of the Recôncavo was the social cohesiveness which derived in a large measure from the original strength and periodic re-enforcement of the slave labor latifundia system. Although this system was operative in other regions of Brazil, it was generally less highly organized, and its vestiges have had less impact on contemporary society. In the Recôncavo it remained the chief cohesive social force until the end of the nineteenth century, and cultural and economic survivals of the system remain in force today.

249 Rope tobacco, *fumo em corda*, is a twist of sweetened, fermented tobacco of rope-like appearance which is smoked in pipes or in hand-made cigarettes or may be used as a chewing tobacco—however, the habit of chewing tobacco is not common in the Recôncavo. This type of tobacco
175 originally was produced for exchange in the slave trade, but at the
439 present time it is consumed almost exclusively by the rural lower class.
567 565 The urban lower class, formerly also consumers of rope tobacco, are turning increasingly to manufactured cigarettes, which for the most part are made from the tobacco grown in Rio Grande do Sul.

In general the production of leaf tobacco in Brazil is restricted to the Recôncavo and adjacent sections of Bahia, but rope tobacco is a product of the *sertão* of Bahia and the northeastern interior and of Minas Gerais. In Bahia the moderate rainfall and the sandy soils of the humid edge of the crystalline zone, in areas of *caatinga* or *mata* vegetation, produce a relatively mild leaf. The best—most valuable—leaf of Bahia is the *Mata* grade of the Southwestern Recôncavo and certain adjacent *municípios*.[14] Of the *Mata* grade, the highest quality comes from Cruz das Almas. Rope tobacco is made primarily from the harsh, strong leaves grown in the *sertão*, but it is made also from leaves of poorer plants or very strong end-of-season leaves of plants originally harvested for *fumo em fôlha*. Thus the Recôncavo may sometimes produce small quantities of rope tobacco, but the main Bahian production is north of the Recôncavo in the *agreste*, especially in Inhambupe and Entre Rios.

The cultivation of tobacco will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural systems (Chapter VI), but one singular characteristic of its harvesting should be borne in mind in evaluating production statistics. In distinction to cultivation of quality tobacco in most other parts of the world, *Bahia-Brasil* is harvested repeatedly until

175 Cachoeira, which formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
178 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
249 [567] the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[439] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own
right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the _sertão_, which could satisfactorily produce _fumo em corda_, but could grow only the poorest grades of _fumo em fôlha_.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
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433 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced
in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower—perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple—a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils—_massapê_, _salão_, and _aréia_. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
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439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for _fumo em corda_, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, _fumo em fôlha_, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

277 There are several possible explanations for the relatively
472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
249 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
178 have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the _usina_, which must be

175 as with pride and love for having made it appear from untamed wilds."[1] After his death the land passed to his son, who died shortly after and left the property to his sister, the Countess of Linhares and wife of Fernando Noronha. Noronha died not too long after, and his wife remarried, again becoming a widow and also losing her own children. At her death in 1618, what had not already been sold of the land was bequeathed to various religious organizations.[2]

It was reported in 1587 that there were fourteen plantations in the area that later became the county of Vila Recôncavo.[3] In 1591 the Franciscans went through the Recôncavo, looking for a place to build a convent. They established a "small hospice" in 1618 on what is now plantation "N" (see map of community). This hospice lasted only two years, for in 1620 the friars returned to Salvador.[4] In 1624 the Franciscans returned to the town, selected a spot of high ground on the shoreline overlooking the Bay of All Saints, and started to construct a chapel and convent. At this time Gaspar dos Reis Pinto was in possession of plantation "N," which included the area chosen by the Franciscans for their construction. In 1633 Gaspar gave 143 square braças (1 braça=6 ft.) to the religious order.[5] With the founding of the convent, the town of Vila Recôncavo received a major impulse, becoming a nucleus for further development.

175 The seventeenth century saw a period of great expansion in
165 the Recôncavo--the erection of many plantations and the in-
567 crease of population, mainly due to the importation of great
634 numbers of African slaves. During this period the first two
formal administrative divisions of the Recôncavo were organized. In Vila Recôncavo, a military district created in 1668 was the first formal unit. Troubles with the Dutch in the
712 early part of the century and continuing invasions and sack-
175 ings by pirates led to the necessity of fortifying appropriate
634 places in the Recôncavo, such as the mouths of rivers emp-
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[1] J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), p. 33.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

[3] Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Noticias do Brasil (São Paulo, n.d.), I, Book I, 282.

[4] de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá, p. 54.

[5] Ibid.

175 I 249* 361 [463] [567] slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance.

175 249* 554 565* The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil.

175 249* 361 [178] Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. 175 249* 427 565* In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo.

[178] As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic.

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These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, con- 565*
structed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings.
Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was [342]
necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture
was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially
shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most
of which was imported from Europe. Members of the fami- [291]
lies frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned [301]
with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not un-
usual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite [567]
slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to
church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of dem- [794]
onstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that
of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When 175
the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Jan- 178
eiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except 249*
locally, for there was too much distance between him and the
new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still 565*
poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and [567]
finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The aboli-
tion of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the
plantation master.

It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of 175
wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the 567
Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them 249*
to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and
died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part
of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation
of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle
of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth
century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast
of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for
slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the [435]
market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered
that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed [464]
approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields,
the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the
nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increas-
ingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and
even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth
century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traf-
fic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this [435]

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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571 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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[654] The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1]

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648 The seventeenth century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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[458] In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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[1] J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

[The Private Plantation]

249* 464 have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions.

249* 466 571 [567] One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family.

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

249* 463 466 571 The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. [608] [465]

parently the criteria for class distinctions were evolved and 175
"set" at that time. The white Portuguese males, and the few 56
Portuguese women present, were the owners of the land and
of the people, both Indian and Negro, who were drawn into the
cultural milieu which became Brazilian society. They were
the group who set up and presented the ideal behavior patterns
to the others. They were at the peak of the status and prestige
hierarchy, while the slave was at the bottom. Thus was established
the original dichotomy of the whites as upper-class
and the colored people as lower-class. As colonial development
continued, other factors were added to this basic one by
the will of the whites. For it was the white group which was
primarily responsible for the creation of the *mestiço*, and it
was the white who placed this new *mestiço* socially between
himself and the darkest colored person.

It is clear that color distinctions arose along with the creation 175
of the multishaded *mestiço* group, and that at the same 563
time other factors were brought into being, qualifying that of
color, such as education, family, and occupation. White masters 565*
who had children by dark slaves often raised them as legitimate
if they were light-skinned, that is, if the difference
between father and child was not too great. In such a case
the child could become a member of the upper end of the social
hierarchy, with education, family, and a position in which
he could command others rather than do any manual labor.
This was particularly the case when the white master did not 175
have a legitimate, European wife to bear him children. If the 563
difference between father and offspring was too great for the 565*
child to be easily acceptable as the son of a European, the
child was nevertheless not infrequently partially recognized 848
and helped by the father in some fashion. He then took his
place among the *gente pequena*, free but illegitimate and rather
dark-skinned. With marked Negroid features his status was
even lower than the European *gente pequena*. An illegitimate
child who proved to be clearly Negroid was likely to be left
in bondage with its mother. Thus, early in Brazilian society 175
the degree of skin darkness and the kind of facial features and 563
hair form became important. Opportunity for personal advancement 565*
was linked with similarity to the white European,
who was the giver of status and who liked to give higher status
to those in his image.

Until 1888 there were two major social categories: slaves 175
and nonslaves. Within the nonslave group, however, there 565*
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VILA RECÔNCAVO

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● 567 were definite subdivisions or classes, with the white European landowner at the top and the darkest-colored free laborer at the bottom. This bottom group grew constantly as a result of the addition of manumitted slaves, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Abolition of slavery removed the strongest barrier to mobility for the largest homogeneous segment of Brazilian population, that of the slaves. Overnight the former slaves became the bottom rank of a new prestige system based mainly on five major criteria: economic power or wealth, profession, education, family, and color. As the lower ranks swelled in size after the abolition, color decreased in importance for mobility, as the other four factors became increasingly meaningful for this large segment of the population. Because of the fact that for three hundred years such a large part of the nonslave population had been colored or mestiço, and there was already in existence a social scale which included them, the entrance of the former slaves into free society did not upset what was already a fully functioning class system, even though the addition of so many people to the bottom class made this by far the largest, numerically.

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*565 The abolition of slavery also gave increased emphasis to class competition, or at least to the possibilities of competition among a greatly enlarged number of people. Nevertheless, the gap between the top of the hierarchy, the regional aristocracy, and any of those below remained as great as before, restricting class competition to the members of the lower classes. Few people from below were able to enter the uppermost group unless they were white and had in some way accumulated sufficient wealth. Some merchants moved into this class through the purchase of property as former aristocratic families died out. As time went on, many people in the upper brackets of the middle class maintained easy social relations with the upper class.

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*565 However, formal marriage between colored people of the ranks below and white people of the upper class has always been forbidden; the small group of landowners and other upper-class people continued to intermarry as they had for centuries. Nevertheless, even this barrier has broken down occasionally, for upper-class people have married and do marry persons known to be of mixed descent. Usually, however, the mestiço partner in such a union is very light-skinned and comes from a family in good economic circumstances which

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By [439] the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil [633] became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital [346] of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north- [571] eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Eliza Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 48.

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All 567
writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between 565
the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was
not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil 571
relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other 175
regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east 249
for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 567
caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar 571
industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, 466
and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large 178
commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, 565
and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro [464]
slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

II. The community with which the present article is concerned is 121
called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known 361
as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern
side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was 175
characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Por- 249
tuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of
these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar [311]
production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557-74),

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2]

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The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.27 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $52.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

[2] In 1835 this same *engenho* had 68 house slaves and 155 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 800 milreis.

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular
inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came
from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago*
(Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
565 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the
younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe
to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages
with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the
plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a
remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of
Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned
on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations
to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale;
known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and
cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for
milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same
plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases
567 the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to
plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still
functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down
altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct
567 result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years
previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

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[178] [1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 38 ff.

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from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was [471]
the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several [567]
decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already [433]
dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to
decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported [567]
usinas, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were
opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, [654]
various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central [471]
mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations.
The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries [433]
of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on
higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was
able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing pro-
duction. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, [471]
and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of
usinas bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in [473]
this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time
the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory
workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not
pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane
to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change 249
the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to 178
usineiros continue as separate units; each generally had an adminis-
trator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the
plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the
usina, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do
engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on
the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like
houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into
separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of
technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side
on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both me- [407]
chanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There
are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and [492]
another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hier- [365]
archy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little
modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field
hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The [463]
plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early
nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one
company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired
workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for
many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large 600

175 162 *563 colony's development); gypsies destined to play a role in the subsequent slave trade and to bequeath their name permanently to the section of the city in which they settled; prostitutes and orphan girls sent over in limited numbers as wives by the Crown; and a few hardy peasant colonists, with their families, from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores.

*175 *563 648 This incoming wave of European population met the indigenous Indians and eventually absorbed or expelled them from the coast. In and about Bahia they were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins, part of the earlier Tupí expansion from the south, and of very primitive culture. The wifeless soldiers and colonists took Indian or half-breed women, first for concubines and later for legally married wives, and soon a numerous mixed-blood population sprang up which was gradually absorbed into the dominant white. Indian males were annihilated in battle, died from the rigors of slavery, or were driven, together with their women and children, far back into the interior. When they put up too stubborn resistance, whole villages were deliberately exterminated, one of the most effective means being the planting of smallpox germs from the clothing of a recent victim of the disease. The Indians, previously strangers to this European malady, rapidly succumbed.

175 167 •567 As early as the middle of the sixteenth century there began at Bahia extensive and prolonged Negro importation from Africa, and Bahia's Bay of All Saints subsequently served for generations as the principal port of entry into Brazil for this black commerce from the African coast. This involuntary population movement to Brazil eventually became what is, probably, the greatest intercontinental displacement of Negro peoples which ever occurred.

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 175 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious 567 • Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro [669] disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a [792] long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still [197] occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding [183] abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might [771] have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual [177] with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia 175 became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small 249 aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

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[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition [113] propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing [433] the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more [464] yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New [567] York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the [137] Madeira Islands in 1548.

[City of Salvador]

249 these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

175 By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her
439 flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portu-
433 guese empire in the East called regularly on their way back
[162] to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had
grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the
[34] cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings
were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had
[352] become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and
[554] the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the sur-
•[567] rounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many
slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549-1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

175 During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia
633 was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

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[249] [1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All 131
Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and
varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous 134
marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of
southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as
massapé or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the
feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears
only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. [249]
This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly
both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable
agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, 178
of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of 249
slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although 471
the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by 565
reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence 567 •
of primitive techniques of production. Although large
landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent,
its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent
decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth
centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth
of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in
prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition
of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow,
and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern.
However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo [161]
than elsewhere in the state outside the city of [144]
Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

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[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term. [103]

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565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
[489] are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fetish
[771] cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
[794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here,
cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels
of European culture, live that portion of the population
which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of
themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the
ricos of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is,
of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic
tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance
upon manual labor and have always regarded education,
family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[668] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary
to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people,"
a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class
abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism,
and truth are not the privilege of any one class"
and explaining that this particular individual had been more
useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"),
or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature
them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an
illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their chil-
[867] dren they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha"
("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de
gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"),
"não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

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162 de Oliveira estimated that there were then in Bahia province 147,263 unfree Negroes.[5]

464 The blacks were practically all introduced as slaves, Brazil being, until 1888, a slaveholding state.[6] Under the favor-
567 able conditions of a rich soil, intense tropical sunlight, and
249 plentiful rainfall common to the Reconcavo, sugar cane
175 thrived. Its cultivation and processing in a land of "open resources" demanded a constant and inexpensive labor supply which the Portuguese, by reason of insufficient numbers and imperfect acclimitization, were themselves unable to
567 furnish. At first, as in the West Indies and the United
464 States, the indigenous Indians were enslaved; and, after the
175 limited supply on the littoral was exhausted, raiding expeditions penetrated deep into the interior. But the Indians, familiar with only the crudest forms of agriculture, seminomadic, and as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plan-

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Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro [tomo especial; Rio, 1927], p. 294).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 330.

[6] For detailed information on the slave trade and slavery see, especially Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil* (3 vols.; Rio, 1867); Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1933); Louis Couty, *L'esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1881); Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1931); Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos; as tribus importadas; sua distribuição regional," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol; Rio, 1927), pp. 437–96; Affonso Claudio, "As tribus negras importadas," *Revista do Institudo Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol., Part II; Rio, 1914), pp. 597–655; Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Brazilian Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XV (July, 1930); Evaristo de Moraes, *A escravidão africano no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933); João Dornas Filho, *A escrividão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939); Roberto Simonsen, "As consequencias economicas da abolição," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), May 8, 1938; Affonso de E. Taunay, "Notas sobre as ultimas decadas do trafico," *ibid.*, July 24, July 31, August 7, 1938.

tation life as they were at home in the near-by bush, proved inefficient and undependable workers.

Just the reverse was characteristic of the Africans, with whom the Portuguese had for some time been acquainted. As early as 1433,[7] Negro slaves had been imported into Portugal to labor on the large estates of the military and religious orders, particularly in the Algarves. Moreover, the West Coast of Africa lay within easy reach of Brazil, directly opposite its central and northern coasts.

The exact date when African importation began is unknown, although it is thought that the fleet which Martim Affonso de Souza in 1531 encountered in the bay at Bahia was engaged in the transport of slaves.[8] Sometime later in this same century[9] the slave trade began to gather momen-

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[7] Prado cites a statement from Georg Friederici (*Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer* [3 vols.; Stuttgart, 1925-36]) to the effect that the first Africans were imported into Portugal in 1433, instead of 1441, as commonly thought. See J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as capitanias do norte do Brasil* (2 vols.; São Paulo, 1939-41), I, 250 n.

[8] Malheiro, *op. cit.*, III, 6; cf. Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), p. 281.

[9] In a letter dated 1552 Padre Nobrega refers to having requested and received three slaves from Guinea. These arrived with others on orders from the king (see Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memorias historicas e politicas da provincia da Bahia* [4 vols.; Bahia, 1919-33], I, 390). In another letter written June 5, 1559, Padre Nobrega refers to eight "Negros de Guiné" on the estate of one Andre Gavião at Bahia (see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 442). In 1583 a certain Salvador Correa de Sá made a contract with João Gutteres Valerio in which he agreed to purchase every slave brought from Africa in his ship (F. Borges de Barros, *Novos documentos para a historia colonial* [Bahia, 1931], p. 77). Pedro Calmon (*op. cit.*, p. 178) gives 1548 as the year in which the traffic began, and Arthur Ramos (*The Negro in Brasil* [Washington, 1939], p. 3) says that the first shipment of slaves direct from the Guinea coast is thought to have occurred in 1538 in a vessel belonging to one Jorge Lopes Bixorda.

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567 tum, Bahia serving for at least two centuries as the principal port of entry.[10] The traffic opened in Guinea and the island of São Thomé, spread shortly to the Congo and Angola, and finally to distant Mozambique. It continued uninterruptedly for nearly three hundred years, assuming its largest proportions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when first gold-mining and diamond-panning in Minas Geraes, and then the development of coffee cultivation in São Paulo, augmented the demand.[11] How many Africans were brought

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[10] Often for transhipment to Rio or for overland delivery to Minas Geraes.

[11] Henry Koster, writing in the early nineteenth century, says of this trade: "As the voyage from the coast of Africa to the opposite shores of South America is usually short, for the winds are subject to little variation and the weather is usually fine, the vessels which are employed in this traffic are generally speaking small, and are not of the best construction. The situation of captain or master of a slave ship is considered of secondary rank in the Portuguese merchant-service; and the persons who are usually so occupied are vastly inferior to the generality of the individuals who command the large and regular trading vessels between Europe and Brazil. The slave ships were formerly crowded to a most shocking degree; nor was there any means of preventing this. But a law has been passed for the purpose of restricting the number of persons for each vessel. However, I more than suspect, that no attention is paid to this regulation. . . . . The slaves . . . . are placed in the streets before the doors of the owners, ... lying or sitting promiscuously upon the foot-path, sometimes to the number of two or three hundred. The males wear a small piece of blue cloth round their waist, which is drawn between the legs and fastened behind. The females are allowed a larger piece of cloth, which is worn as a petticoat; and sometimes a second portion is given to them, for the purpose of covering the upper parts of the body. The stench which is created by these assemblages is almost intolerable to one who is unaccustomed to their vicinity; and the sight of them, good God! is horrid beyond anything. These people do not, however, seem to feel their situation, any farther than that it is uncomfortable. Their food consists of salt meat, the flour of the manioc, beans, and plantain occasionally. The victuals for each day are cooked in the middle of the street in an enormous caldron. At night, they are driven into one or more warehouses: and a driver stands to count them as they pass. They are locked in; and the door is again opened at day-break on the following morning. The wish of these wretched creatures to escape from this state of

in perhaps never will be known, but the number undoubtedly ran into millions.[12]

Angola furnished most of the importations during the late sixteenth[13] and the seventeenth centuries; Guinea, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth.[14] By 1710 Bahian to-

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inaction and discomfort is manifested upon the appearance of a purchaser. They start up willingly, to be placed in the row for the purpose of being viewed and handled like cattle: and on being chosen they give signs of much pleasure. I have had many opportunities of seeing slaves bought; for my particular friends at Recife lived opposite to slave dealers. I never saw any demonstrations of grief at parting from each other: but I attribute this to a resigned or rather despairing sensation, which checks any show of grief, and which has prepared them for the worst, by making them indifferent to whatever may occur: besides, it is not often, that a family is brought over together: the separation of relatives and friends has taken place in Africa. It is among the younger part of the assemblage of persons who are exposed for sale, that pleasure is particularly visible at the change of situation; the Negroes of more advanced age do whatever the driver desires, usually with an unchanged countenance. A species of relationship exists between the individuals who have been imported in the same ship. They call each other *malungos:* and this term is much regarded among them. The purchaser gives to each of his newly-bought slaves a large piece of baize and a straw hat and as soon as possible marches them off to his estate. I have often in travelling met with many parties going up to their new homes, and have observed that they were usually cheerful" (*Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 205–9).

[12] Affonso de E. Taunay, "Numeros do trafico," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), September 30, 1936. Estimates made by Brazilian writers range from three to eighteen millions, although the latter figure would appear to be considerably exaggerated. Ramos believes the number did not exceed five millions (*The Negro in Brazil*, p. 6).

[13] Especially after the founding of São Paulo de Loanda in 1575 (Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–79). See also *Dialogos das grandezas do Brasil*, ed. Rodolfo Garcia (Rio: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1930), p. 143.

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[14] In 1811 an agreement with England, actively enforced by the latter's cruisers, cut off importations from north of the Equator. Angola once more became the principal source of slave supply, and, between 1815 and 1850, approximately a million Angola Negroes, it is estimated, came in (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182).

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By 1710 Bahian tobacco[15] was being shipped in quantity to "the Mina coast," which for more than a century thereafter absorbed a full third of Bahia's production.[16] A visitor early in the eighteenth century referred to Bahia as "New Guinea";[17] while the natives of Guinea were said at that time to have called the outer world "Bahia."[18]

In 1781 fifty vessels were engaged in the Brazilian traffic, "eight or ten with Angola and the rest with the Sudanese coast."[19] In 1800 twenty vessels were plying the trade from Bahia alone. According to custom-house records, 29,172 Negroes from "the Mina coast" and the islands of São Thomé and Principe entered Bahia during the decade from

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[15] *Aguardente*, or *cachaça* (cheap rum), sugar, and manioc meal were also extensively used for trading purposes, as similarly were cowries (*busios*) from the coast south of Bahia.

[16] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[17] Amadeu Francisco Frézier, *Relation d'un voyage à la mer du sud* (Paris, 1716); cf. Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The demand for slave labor in the gold fields of Minas Geraes so stimulated importations that La Barbinais, visiting Bahia in 1717, estimated that in that year 25,000 Africans were landed at Bahia. See Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia colonial* (Rio, 1925), p. 364.

[18] "It was principally to Bahia . . . . that the unfortunate sons of Lybia were brought, and it is for this reason that the natives of Guinea give the name of Bahia to Brazil, to America, and even to Europe" (Onesime Reclus, quoted by Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do quinto congresso brasileiro de geographia* [Rio, 1916], p. 626).

[19] Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81. See letter of Silva Lisboa, *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional*, XXXII, 504. From September 29, 1771, to September 22, 1772, nine slave ships with 2,307 Negroes entered the port of Bahia. One ship, "Nossa Senhora do Rosario," carrying 371 Africans "and two babies at the breast" had not had a single death on the voyage. Another vessel, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Ponte," sailing from the Mina coast with a call at São Thomé, landed 13 without casualty, July 11, 1772. But other ships lost, respectively, 111 out of 374, 17 out of 468, 17 out of 158, 29 out of 233, 11 out of 308, 44 out of 327, 20 out of 302—a total loss of [illegible] out of 2,554 leaving the African coast (from custom-house records; see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

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1785 to 1795, and in the last five of these years 17,409 Africans came in from Angola.[20] From 1797 to 1806 approximately 47,000 "Minas" and 11,000 "Angolas" entered Bahia.[21] In the Angola trade, ships plied directly between the Brazilian ports of Bahia,[22] Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and Maranhão and the Angola ports of São Paulo de Loanda, Benguella, and, particularly, Novo Redondo, exchanging for Angola Negroes tobacco, *cachaça*, cotton prints, knives, glass beads, powder, and lead.[23] Thousands of Yorubas, Gêges (Ewes), Haussás, Fuláhs (Fulbis, Fulanins), Ashantis, Tapas, Effans, and Mandingas were imported from the ports of Lagos, Forte de El Mina, and São João de Ajudá (Whydah).[24] Felix de Sousa, better known as Cháchá,[25] a mulatto from Rio de Janeiro, played a prominent role in the trade in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been

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[20] Calogeras, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–26.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

[22] Several slave warehouses existed in the area between Agua dos Meninos and the Dourado docks. Some slave merchants used their own houses as *depositos*. A certain Siqueira Lima had such a house in Vitoria on the present site of the governor's palace (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

[23] Ferreira reports 8,037 Negroes imported into Bahia in the year 1807 (José Carlos Ferreira, "As insurreições dos africanos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX [1903], 96). In 1821, 21,199 Negroes entered Rio from Angola; in 1822, 24,934 (Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* [London, 1824], p. 146).

[24] Braz do Amaral says there were also imported Africans known in Bahia as Macuas, Bambas, Jalos, Bechuanos, Balantes, Jingas, Krumanos, Timinis, Bengos, Jalofas, Bengalas, Cabindas, Congos, Manjocos, Sentys, Maguiscas, Benins, Queitos, and Bornûs. Numerically important were the Yorubas (Nagôs) and Gêges (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 474–84). The Yoruba subgroups, the Egbas and Ige-shas, were apparently large.

[25] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182; cf. Novas Calvo, *Pedro blanco el negrero* (Madrid, 1933), p. 69.

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In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been valued in Bahia at 40 milreis; in 1692, at 60 milreis; in 1703, at 100 milreis; and in 1800, at 140 milreis.[26] At Pernambuco, early in the nineteenth century, Negroes were valued at 32 pounds sterling; oxen at 31 pounds each, and horses the same; although "by management the two last may be obtained at lower prices," Koster informs us,[27] adding that "plantations of the first class ought to have eighty Negroes at least."

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In addition to Bahia and Recife, there were two other centers of African importation on the coast, at Rio de Janeiro to the south and Maranhão to the north, and one interior region of concentration, the province of Minas Geraes. These five areas received the major portion of all importations and remain today the principal centers of Negro population in Brazil.

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In 1831 a treaty with Great Britain sought to abolish the slave trade. But for a quarter of a century this agreement was so little enforced[28] that an estimated 500,000 additional

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[26] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182. A slave worth 100 milreis in 1830 was valued at five times this figure ten years later, and still more as the pressure of the British blockade continued (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 472).

[27] *Op. cit.*, II, 139.

[28] "At one time it appeared impossible to abolish the traffic. . . . . The planters declared that without Africans they would be absolutely unable to plant crops; that free labor was not to be had in sufficient numbers for the necessities of agriculture; that only by force could labor be obtained in this hot country; that the citizen, he who was a free man, possessed as his chief privilege 'não trabalhar' [the right not to labor], or at least to work only enough to enable him to eat and to live as 'Deus dará' [God will provide]; that since the 'gente rude' did not lack shelter, being content to live in palm-leaf huts, it was useless to attempt to obtain profitable labor from free men, who were always lazy and inclined to idleness; that the *fazendeiro* who used free labor was soon reduced to penury by the wages paid out and the poor quality of work so secured" (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-73). On receiving news of the decree of 1831, the Bahian provincial assembly directed a petition to

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Africans were brought into Brazil, many in United States ships, operated by English capital.[29] In 1846, 50,324 were imported; in 1847, 56,172; and, in the following year, 60,000.[30] This traffic was completely suppressed only by 1852,[30a] Bahia being one of the areas in which it died hardest.[31]

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In plant and animal communities different species come

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the federal senate, demanding its repeal. At one time a *delegado de policia* in Bahia was dismissed from office for having apprehended a shipment of Africans, although such shipment was obviously illegal under the provisions of this law.

[29] Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brasil* (2 vols.; London, 1845), II, 96–97; Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 319. The most notorious slave-trade case involving a vessel from the United States was that of the "Mary E. Smith" of New Orleans. The ship was brought into Bahia by the Brazilian brig "Olinda" on January 29, 1856, with 370 slaves from fifteen to twenty years of age aboard. The "Mary E. Smith," despite efforts to detain her, had left Boston on the preceding August 24 and sailed to the Gold Coast, where she had picked up a cargo of nearly five hundred Africans. When captured, she had been attempting unsuccessfully for weeks to land her cargo on the Bahian coast. One hundred and six slaves died before the vessel was finally taken and those still alive upon arrival in Bahia were so weakened by starvation and disease that only a few survived.

[30] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 171. According to figures given by the British Anti-slavery Society, 221,800 Africans entered Brazil between 1840 and 1847 (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 495).

[30a] Percy A. Martin, *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Washington, 1935), p. 208. The last shipload into Bahia landed October 29, 1851. See Wanderley de A. Pinho, "O ultimo desembarque de escravos na Bahia," *Espelho* (September, 1936), pp. 13–16.

[31] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 236. The *Argos Pernambucano* of January 30, 1850, says: "The way in which free Africans are imported into Bahia and reduced to slavery, with the obvious connivance of the government, is a notorious scandal." In the *Argos Sant'Amarense* appeared the following: "The Governor of the Province himself, at nightfall, on the twenty-first of October, 1849, unloaded in the city of Santo Amaro a large number of newly arrived Africans, which he had brought from the capital [Bahia] in a boat, and transported them to his *engenho*." See also Querino, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

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A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

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Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

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Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

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pendent, lived apart from their masters, and arranged their 175
own employment. They were usually required to pay a stat- 567
ed sum weekly to their owners, after which they might retain for their own use any balance remaining. In Bahia they are reported to have been principally Yorubas, Gêges, and Haussás.

These Negroes were reputedly strong, capable workers. Almost all the Haussás were ardent Mohammedans, who in
Bahia seem to have converted to their faith many Yorubas, B
Gêges, and other Africans. Shrewd and intelligent, they BB
were at times superior in cultural equipment to their masters. Many were literate, and some are said to have written [212]
Arabic fluently. Often they banded together to mature [571]
schemes of revolt, to buy the freedom of a favorite friend, or to work under a leader for the liberation of all. The order in which they secured their freedom was ordinarily determined by lot, the earliest liberated remaining with the group until the last was purchased, after which they sometimes returned to Africa, paying their passage with what they had earned.[32] BB

It was principally the Haussás who led the numerous 175
slave revolts[33] at Bahia during the early nineteenth century. 567
Although these uprisings were all unsuccessful and ordi- 669

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[32] Daniel P. Kidder and James C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 135. Between 1850 and 1878 from four to six thousand free Negroes from Brazil settled at Lagos and Whydah and a few in Angola (Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* [New York, 1910], p. 98 n.). Repatriated Gêges are said to have founded on the African West Coast a city with the name of a Bahian port, Porto Seguro.

[33] In the Archivo Publico at Bahia are four volumes of police documents covering the revolts of this period. Each volume contains from a thousand to twelve hundred sheets in long hand which, for their age, are fairly well preserved.

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narily ended in the death of their leaders, the Europeans lived throughout this period in a more or less constant state of alarm.[34] Arthur Ramos, following Nina Rodrigues, considers these disturbances to have been "nothing more or less than a continuation of the long and recurrent struggles of religious conquest carried on by the Mohammedan Negroes of the Sudan."[35] In support of this contention it has been pointed out that their animosity was directed not only at the Europeans but also at creole blacks and mulattoes who did not join the crusade.

In estimating the character of these revolts, one should give particular attention to the fact that the participants were either free Negroes or those slaves, like the *negros de ganho* and the field hands, whose relations with the whites were not the intimate relations which ordinarily arise out of close personal contact. It is highly significant that on the eve of revolt the whites always received timely warning from

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[34] The following document, which was sent to the governor of Bahia by several *senhores de engenho*, shows the fear which at that time agricultural proprietors had of these disturbances (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346):

> The undersigned owners of *engenhos*, considering the imminent peril in which by reason of the frequent slave revolts known to Your Excellency their persons and, in general, those of all the inhabitants of the Reconcavo and even perhaps of the entire Province [of Bahia] are placed, and considering that at every moment the property of each one of them is at stake, feel it an unavoidable duty to point out this situation to Your Excellency and to beg the actual placing of those Detachments which Your Excellency sometime ago ordered stationed at various points in the Reconcavo in keeping with the police plan of the 12th of December, 1828, the which, being included in the *Proposta* of the Provincial Counsel General, was approved along with other provisions and ordered put into effect, the expenses of its execution to be paid out of the public treasury.
>
> It not being, however, the intention of the petitioners to load onto the Public Treasury the entire burden, they themselves offer to seek to raise a portion of this expense by means of a subscription.
>
> The petitioners rest confident in the interest which Your Excellency has always taken in the preservation of public order, and are thereby assured that you will give ear to this urgent request which they have here set forth.

[35] Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 336; see also Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), pp. 61-107.

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some slave,[36] and many Negroes repeatedly refused to participate in the uprisings.[37] The disturbances were ordinarily led, as we have seen, by Mohammedan Haussás, said to be exceedingly spirited and resolute individuals,[38] who were either free blacks or semi-independent ***negros de ganho***. Moreover, they lived for the most part in the city where life was less arduous than on the plantations and where there was, at the same time, more leisure for brooding over grievances and perfecting schemes of revolt. Since all insurrectionists spoke the same or quite similar languages and shared

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[36] Dantas Junior, in commenting on the revolt of 1807, repeats (*A Ilustração* [Bahia], June, 1936) that on the night of the twenty-second of May (the revolt was set for 7:00 P.M. of the twenty-eighth) a "person of integrity" urgently sought out the governor at his palace and secretly informed him that "a Negro of mine told me that the slaves of the Ussá nation are plotting to revolt." Following the serious uprising of 1835, the provincial assembly rewarded (*Laws*, No. 344, August 5, 1848, and No. 405, August 2, 1850) the "free Africans," Duarte Mendes and his wife, Sabina da Cruz, with the cancellation of their taxes for having "informed on and thus prevented the success of the planned insurrection."

[37] "The Negroes of the warehouses belonging to Manoel Ignacio da Cunha and Francisco Lourenço Herculano did not wish to join the band" (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 347). Wied Neuwied, who visited Bahia during the period of these uprisings, says that colored troops were used in suppressing them. See Prince Maximilian Wied Neuwied, *Viagem ao Brasil*, trans. from the German of *Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817* (2 vols.; Frankfurt, 1820), by Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça and Flavio Poppe de Figueiredo (São Paulo, 1940), pp. 450–51.

[38] Koster, noting that "Pernambuco has never experienced any serious revolt among the slaves; but at Bahia there have been several commotions," and convinced that "Bahia contains fewer free people than Pernambuco in proportion to the number of slaves," wrote, "I cannot avoid attributing the quietude of the latter in some measure to the circumstances of a few of the Gold Coast Negroes being imported into it, whilst at Bahia the principal stock of slaves is from that part of Africa. . . . They are represented as possessing great firmness of mind and body, and ferociousness of disposition" (*op. cit.*, I, 214). [184]

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[184] [197] the same or similar religious beliefs and practices, they were able to act effectively together.

In 1806, following a raid upon a "conspirator's house," the imprisonment of a number of suspected plotters, and the confiscation of "four hundred arrows, a bundle of sticks, and quantities of cord for the making of bows, a large number of knives and pistols, a gun and a drum," orders were issued to arrest every slave found in the streets after nine o'clock at night "without a letter from his master or in his company."[39] The following year correspondence between African conspirators in Bahia and Santo Amaro (a sugar center in the Reconcavo) was intercepted, and the leaders thus exposed were subsequently tried, sentenced to death, and executed.[40] [361] About the same time the governor of Bahia ordered destroyed two troublesome *quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive slaves, on the outskirts of the city near Cabula and Nossa Senhora dos Mares, and the *capitãomor* with eighty soldiers surrounded their huts and took prisoner seventy-eight blacks, some of whom were free Negroes.[41]

In 1809 a revolt about twelve miles from Bahia was put down after the Haussás had "committed all sorts of outrages."[42] In 1813 about five hundred Haussás revolted and fled into the surrounding country but were speedily pursued and disarmed and their leaders publicly hung on gallows erected in Praça Piedade, one of the principal squares of the city. Several others were deported to Africa.[43] In 1826 soldiers had to be sent to various points in the Reconcavo,

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[39] Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[40] Alvares do Amaral, *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 111.

[41] Eduardo A. de Caldas Britto, "Levantes de pretos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX, 72.

[42] Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 337.

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including Cachoeira, to put down an African insurrection, whose leader had been chosen a "king of the blacks" and when wounded and captured "carried a red flag, had on his head . . . . a crown, and over his shoulders an old-fashioned mantle of green velveteen on which had been embroidered a golden cock." An incident of this uprising was the successful resistance of a *quilombo* near Pirajá, a few miles distant from Bahia, to the attack of several *capitães do matto*[43a] who, in the mistaken belief that they had to deal with a small number of Negroes, sought without reinforcements to apprehend these fugitives and lost their lives in the attempt. A detachment of soldiers was required to dislodge the Africans.[44]

In 1827 a body of Yoruba slaves fled into the *matto* after sacking and setting fire to houses in the suburbs of the city. A police force sent in pursuit engaged the fugitives, killing or wounding eight of their number, but met with such resistance over a period of two days' skirmishing that it would have itself been wiped out had not a patrol of troops come to its rescue. The next year, following three separate revolts, slaveholders in the Reconcavo appealed to the governor for more effective police protection.

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In 1835 the last and most serious revolt broke out, led again by Mohammedan Negroes, each of whom wore upon his person a *patuá*, or charm, presumed to protect the faithful against death in any form.[45] Bahia was at that time the

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[43a] "Bush Captains" hired to track down fugitive slaves.

[44] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[45] Padre Etienne Ignace Brasil, "Os Malês," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXXII, Part II (1909), 83. In São Salvador dos Campos, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, "restless slaves wearing plumes in their hats" were arrested, one of whom on being interrogated confessed that orders had been received from Bahia to revolt on the following Ash Wednesday (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

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567 seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of
669 the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding
[186] the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes
[714] worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular
[527] festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

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[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . .
[212] Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language
[197] which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organize revolts."

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patrols which later, aided by foot soldiers and cavalry and favored by considerable confusion among the widely separated bands of blacks as to the actual hour of attack, scattered and broke up the Negro mobs, but only after a serious struggle.[48] The leaders of the revolt were tried,[49] given two hundred, five hundred, even one thousand lashes, or shot by a firing squad, or deported to Africa. Further importation of the *batá*, or African war drum, was forbidden.

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The number and persistence of these slave insurrections may suggest that slavery in Brazil was unusually severe. The reverse seems to be the fact. Insurrectionists were unassimilated free Negroes and semi-independent slaves, morally isolated from the Europeans. Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system obviously existed, and atrocities occurred here as elsewhere, the slavery involved, as we shall see in detail in chapter iii, was ordinarily a mild form of servitude. In general, slavery in Brazil was characterized by the gradual and continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character.

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[48] A letter from Bahia published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio on February 10, 1835, and dated January 31, reads: "Business and commerce is completely at a standstill by reason of a Negro uprising which last Sunday suddenly upset public tranquillity in this city. The revolt, which had been planned for a long time, was very serious, but the armed forces managed to put it down."

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[49] The police records deposited in the Archivo Publico at Bahia list 234 Negroes who, subsequent to the uprising, were brought to trial by the authorities. Among these, 165 are listed as Nagôs, 21 as Haussás, 6 as Gêges, and 6 as Tapas. Documents found in their possession, facsimiles of which may be seen in the above depository, were written in Arabic characters. See also the novel by Pedro Calmon, *Os Malês, a insurreção das senzalas* (Rio, 1933).

BRAZIL SL1

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One advantage which Brazilian slaves had over bondsmen in the English colonies was the numerous holidays of which the Catholic religion enjoins the observance. Koster wrote:

> These give to the slave many days of rest or time to work for his own profit; thirty-five of these, and the Sundays besides, allow him to employ much of his time as he pleases. Few masters are inclined to restrain the right of their slaves to dispose of these days as they think fit; or, at any rate, few dare, whatever their inclinations may be, to brave public opinion in depriving them of the intervals from work which the law has set apart as their own. . . . . The time which is thus afforded, enables the slave, who is so inclined, to accumulate a considerable sum of money.[30]

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Among the small proprietors, parity of condition in many respects apparently obtained between master and slave, who worked together and fared much alike.[31]

It is, of course, true that cases of the most barbaric and extreme cruelty occurred, but apparently these were relatively rare and confined in large measure to frontier areas, where masters were very much a law unto themselves.[32] Public opinion was ordinarily opposed to such treatment, much of which has been attributed to Negro or mulatto owners or overseers who were notorious for their severity.[33]

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[30] *Op. cit.*, I, 191.

[31] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 782.

[32] However, Koster records as late as 1800 that, owing to the "abominable cruelty" with which they were treated in Rio de Janeiro, frequent murders were committed by slaves. Iron shackles, sharply pronged iron collars, stocks, and thumb screws were employed, and severe beatings to the point of death and even boilings in oil occurred. See also Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), pp. 116-17, 439.

[33] Joaquim Nabuco made public, and Conselheiro Dantas once referred in the federal senate to "a disgraceful tragedy" which occurred in Parahyba do Sul on July 29, 1886. A master who was an *homem de côr*, his *homem de côr* overseer and *algoz* "flayed and tortured" several slaves until they died

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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face,"[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

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Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

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from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de matto*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

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[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradiçoes bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

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567 mer, the filling of razor slashes with salt, the castration of
males and the amputation of the breasts of females, and
"murder at the slightest whim."[56] The custom of *novenas*
BB and *trezenas* of slave beatings sometimes resulted in death.[57]

[625] In 1887 a police sergeant in a village in the interior of Bahia Province reported to the governor: "Considering the number of crimes on slaves in this section which continually go unpunished, this town of Formosa is in great need of at least five soldiers to be stationed here at the disposal of the local police official."[58] The *Diario da Bahia* of July 21, 1887, reports the discovery of a slave woman bearing about her neck a pronged iron collar "weighing twenty-five pounds, from which were suspended heavy chains wrapped about her
B body like serpents."

Escapes were frequent, the fugitives being assisted by the
[463] character of the *matto*. They were hunted by hired *capitães*
B *do matto*, or "bush captains," usually Brazilian-born Negroes
B B or mixed-bloods, whose trained dogs netted them a steady in-
[621] come.[59] Occasionally, fugitive slaves banded together in
considerable numbers for mutual protection into *quilombos*.

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[56] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 561-63. For illustrations of instruments used to punish slaves, see Arthur Ramos, "Castigos de escravos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo), XLVII (May, 1938), 79-104.

[57] "Each day at a certain hour . . . . the slave is stripped and tied to a post where he receives a certain number of blows which reopen wounds made on previous days. . . . . This is done for periods of nine to thirteen days in accordance with the practices [religious ceremonies extending over a period of nine to thirteen days] of the church" (*ibid.*, p. 43 n.).

BB [58] *Ibid.*, p. 673.

[524] [59] Still played by children at Bahia is the game "Capitão do matto," a form of "hide and go seek" in which those hiding are presumed to be slaves and the hunter a "bush captain."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1

The present town of Orobó,[60] approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.[61] Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

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[60] The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

[61] On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

> ILLUSTRIOUS AND ESTEEMED SIR:
>
> There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entradas e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itapororocas, Severino Pereira, to organize an armed force and to destory the *mocambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *mocambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *inhame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.
>
> God guard Your Excellency.
>
> Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho.
>
> D. FERNANDO JOSÉ DE PORTUGAL

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equaled in size or in importance the famed Palmares of Alagoas.[60]

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It is a mistake, however, to conclude that humane and intimate relations between master and slave were by any means rare. In fact, they were in all likelihood, as we shall see in detail later, the general rule. The literature records numerous instances like that witnessed by John Codman in 1866, of which he says:

> We drove up to the door of our Brazilian passengers. They were most boisterously welcomed by a troop of blacks. The pleasantest thing I had seen for some hours was the affection of these poor Negroes. Bright shone their eyes, and what a display was there of ivory! They fairly seized their mistress . . . . in their arms, and "toted" her off into the house, hugging and kissing her, screaming and dancing as they went.[61]

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[60] The famous "Negroes of the Palmares" (or "Palm Forests") were slaves who had escaped from Pernambuco before and particularly during the struggles of the Portuguese with the Dutch. Constantly acquiring recruits, they set up a series of crudely fortified villages scattered over some sixty leagues (about two hundred and forty miles). From these they harried the neighboring regions, taking from outlying *fazendas* both mates and slaves, among the former of which white women were occasionally to be found. They became so strong and so difficult to dislodge, that numerous expeditions sent out by the Dutch and later by the Portuguese served only to check for a time their growth—were unable for seventy years to destroy them completely. Only in 1697 were they finally subdued by an army from Recife led by a Paulista famed for success in such fighting and especially imported for this service, and then only after he had at first encountered serious reversals at their hands and their resistance had subsequently been broken by a failure of the food supply (Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 23-29). This Negro group had at times carried on trade with the whites, exchanging agricultural products for articles of manufacture. That they were seriously treated as an alien but respected group is attested by an exchange of peace commissioners during the governorship of Ayres Souza e Castro and the subsequent signing of a treaty of peace. (Incidentally, this treaty was never kept by the whites.) For a critical examination of the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled "Negro Republic" see Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-43.

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[61] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

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• 567 guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro
[701] women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically
B B B liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco"
[656] freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68]
and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes
by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation
B movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will,
BB by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright
[747] gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

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[702] [66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

BB [67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[435] [68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator
B Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides
BB Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[747] [70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private indi-
[652] viduals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[72]

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Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[73]

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In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

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liberated by will, and the Cántagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[72] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organized in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[73] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-22.

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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *camara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Noticias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

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The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

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[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21.

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became known throughout the country as an opponent of abolition, and, further, in 1791, a bishop of Pernambuco, José Joaquim da Cunha de Azevedo Coutinho, published a book in Lisbon entitled *A analyse sobre a justiça do commercio do resgate dos escravos da costa d'Africa,*[76] in which he upheld slavery as having "existed since the beginning of the world and in the lap of all religions."

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Nevertheless, some noted ecclesiastics did from time to time take up the slave cause. Padre Antonio Vieira, although he later became more cautious under "the necessity of furthering the Jesuit determination to free the Indians, even at the expense of the Negroes," delivered a sermon as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in which he said: "The fact that whites dominate blacks is due to force and not to either reason or nature." On another occasion, he said:

> O inhuman traffic in which the merchandise is men! Few masters, many slaves; masters richly dressed, slaves despised and naked; masters banqueting, slaves dying of hunger; masters swimming in gold and silver, slaves loaded down with irons; masters treating their slaves like brutes, slaves in fear and awe of their masters as if they were gods; masters present at a whipping, standing like statues of might and tyranny, slaves prostrate, their hands strapped behind their backs, like debased emblems of servitude.
>
> Peradventure these men are not our brothers?
>
> Were these souls not redeemed with the blood of the same Christ? Are not these bodies born and do they not die like ours? Do they not breathe the same air? Does not the same sky cover them? Are they not warmed by the same sun?[77]

An archbishop of Bahia, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in an address to the *camara* in 1827, vigorously opposed slav-

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[76] This book went through two editions and was translated into both French and English.

[77] *Sermões* (15 vols., 1679-1748), Vol. X, Sermon 27.

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567 ery.[78] As early as Independence Day, 1851, the Benedictine
668 friar, Francisco da Natividade Carneiro da Cunha, preached
793 a sermon in the Bahian Cathedral in which he urged Bahians
[792] "to complete Brazilian independence by gradually emanci-
B pating the slaves."[79] Monsenhor Joaquim Pinto de Campos
[527] attacked slavery in sermons as early as 1856, in one of
which, preached before the Sociedade Ypiranga, he said: "Humanity is one, and all of its parts have equal rights. The public conscience, which is the voice of God re-echoing in the souls of the people, is always repelled by favoritism in the distribution of liberty."

Canon Rodrigo de Souza Menezes, in the columns of *O Horizonte* as early as 1872, and in a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 2, 1883, vigorously attacked slavery and advocated its abolition throughout Brazil. Another Bahian canon, Dr. Romualdo Maria de Seixas Barroso, wrote many abolition articles for the newspapers, among them one addressed especially to Bahian women; and in his will, probated in 1886, he declared: "I have always considered it a crime to draw up a contract for the buying and selling of any human being—he who is my own brother and who may be redeemed, as I, by the blood of the Savior of mankind."[80]

The bishop of Olinda, on March 25, 1887, wrote a pastoral letter urging his clergy to free immediately their

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[78] *Ibid.*, p. 35. The archbishop said: "I have always been persuaded that the word 'slavery' calls up images of all vices and all crimes; and that the word 'liberty' calls out the ideas and the sentiments attendent upon all virtue and all good. Always I have maintained that slavery is a harmful condition which destroys the spirit, weakens the faculties of understanding, and perverts the heart."

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[79] "Public opinion was aroused against the words of Friar Carneiro. Upon his descending from the pulpit, one of his relatives asked him if he had lost his reason" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–83).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 384–88.

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slaves so that "on the next birthday of the Holy Father, Leo XIII, there may be laid next his throne a declaration saying: 'The clergy of Olinda no longer own slaves.' " A similar suggestion was shortly thereafter made to the bishop of São Paulo by several of his priests. On July 29 the archbishop of Bahia issued a pastoral letter in which he referred to slavery as "a cruel injustice practiced on many of our brothers . . . . a blot which stains the Brazilian flag alone among the banners of civilized nations." The archbishop further declared that, while the church had previously feared that abolition would disrupt public order, the consequences of recent manumissions had entirely dispelled this apprehension.

The proposal of the bishop of Olinda was supported by the bishop of Maranhão, who agreed that "one can do nothing which would honor the august head of the great Christian family more than to grant liberty to those who are our brothers and children of our church." The proposal was also supported by the bishop of Rio Grande do Sul, who closed his pastoral letter with the strong declaration that "slavery is a corpse in need of being interred;"[81] and by the bishop of Diamantina, who proposed "a decree written in letters of gold abolishing slavery in Brazil by the thirty-first day of December, 1887." The bishop of Mariana also advocated general abolition, referring to slavery as an obstacle to the spread of "the great principles planted by our Master Jesus Christ" and reminding the priests of his bishopric that

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[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 513–19. Although the enumeration in accordance with the law of September 28, 1871, listed 99,401 slaves in Rio Grande do Sul, the census which was completed June 12, 1885, gave only 27,242, or less than one-third of those returned fourteen years earlier. The enumeration of March 30, 1887, listed only 8,436 (*ibid.*, p. 520). It appears that attempts to emancipate by entire provinces originated in this province.

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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

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Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

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By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[82]

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The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

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[82] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

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Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilheos, Cannavieiras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[83]

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[83] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

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567 668 In 1872 Dr. Frederico Lisboa advocated in *O Horizonte* "the right of all men to natural liberty" and, in keeping with this sentiment, liberated several slaves which had been presented to him on the occasion of his marriage. Subsequently he bought and freed some thirty Negroes belonging to others. In nine months Bahian abolitionists secured the release of approximately two hundred slaves illegally imported after passage of the law of 1831.[84] To make less difficult the transition from a slave to a free status, the courts appointed lawyers as *curadores* ("guardians") of the freedmen.[85]

175 567 668 204 [538] In 1880 Pamphilo da Santa Cruz founded a newspaper called *Gazeta da Tarde*, in whose first issue he stated a frankly abolitionist program. He was assisted in its publication by the journalist, Raymundo Bizarria, and by Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. In 1881, on the anniversary of the death of Castro Alves, "the immortal poet," author of the antislavery *Gonzaga* and *Poema dos escravos*, the public was invited through the columns of the *Diario da Bahia* "eloquently to affirm our irrevocable adhesion to the cause of abolition."

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[84] For instance, Eduardo Carige demanded the liberation of an African woman whose owner, Antonio Alves Fernandes, had registered her in 1872 as forty years of age. Dr. Amphilophio Botelho Freire de Carvalho, "the first Bahian judge to comply with this law," whose decisions "were widely publicized and attracted the attention of the whole province," freed her on February 10, 1887. One irate master appealed from a decision of Botelho, charging that the judge was incompetent. The Superior Tribunal denied the appeal (see *Diario da Bahia* for March 15, 1887; Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–23).

[85] Among Bahian lawyers accepting this charge were: Dr. Affonso de Castro Rebello, Dr. Elpidio de Mesquita, Dr. Arthur de Mello e Mattos, Dr. Mauricio Francisco Ferreira da Silva, Dr. José Heraclides Ferreira, Dr. Francisco Moncorvo de Lima, Dr. Adolpho Carlos Sanches, Dr. Alexandre Galvão, Dr. Severino dos Santos Vieira, and Dr. Izaias Guedes de Mello. Dr. Raymundo Mendes Martins "rendered important services to the cause of the captives" as *curador geral* of orphans (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–26).

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At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the states- 567
man, jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonzaga:* 668
"No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, 204
liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an 538
expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." An-
tonio Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets
then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a BB
poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setem-
bro. In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated 175
a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de 567
Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known 668
abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[86] In 1885 a pamphlet 204
entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um pais christão* was [544]
published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When
the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had se-
cured the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebra-
tion was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the
initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da* BB
Tarde.

In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves 175
which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry 567
women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos La- 668
zaros or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco B
presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for 175
the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years 567
later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O* 668
Abolicionismo.[86a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected [214]
federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian [666]

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[86] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliviera Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luis Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Souza, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[86a] London, 1883.

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652 In 1881 the Bahian provincial assembly created an emancipation fund "to free slaves in this province."[87] On March 25, 1884, slavery was abolished in the province of Ceará, the culmination of fifteen months of municipal emancipation.[88] Similar action was taken by the provinces of Amazonas and Maranhão later in the same year. In 1885 all Negroes over sixty years of age were liberated by edict of the Brazilian emperor.[89] In 1886

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[87] Law No. 2146 of May 14, 1881, sponsored by Deputies Marcolino Moura, Alexandre Herculano, Frederico Lisboa, and Virgilio de Carvalho. Articles 2 and 3 read as follows:

> ARTICLE 2.—This Emancipation Fund shall be derived:
>
> SECTION 1. From each and every provincial tax relative to slaves, including the inheritance and legacy stamps.
>
> SEC. 2. From the returns of an annual lottery of 100 contos.
>
> SEC. 3. From the donations of individuals and of philanthropic associations.
>
> SEC. 4. From legacies left or set up for the benefit of the fund.
>
> SEC. 5. From the payment of a tax obligatory for this purpose by every dramatic and musical company which shall play in the Theatro Publico.
>
> ART. 3.—The distribution of this Emancipation Fund shall be in the hands of each *município* in accordance with Article 26 of Statute 5135 of the thirteenth of November, 1872.

The seventh apportionment from this fund, made by act of Governor Theódoro Machado on May 13, 1886, amounted to 59 contos, 723$244 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

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[88] The *Rio News* of April 5, 1884, reported a week's festival being at that time held in Rio in celebration of emancipation in Ceará. Large sums were realized from donations and bazaars, several slaves were liberated, and a movement set on foot to secure complete emancipation in Rio also. On September 28, 1887, there was held at Belem a "redemption celebration" to which flocked "the press, the abolition societies, the Masons, leaders of the city's commercial life, many women, and the people." One hundred and nine *Cartas de Liberdade* were distributed. On the following day, the *Provincia do Pará*, one of the leading abolition journals of Brazil, published an editorial suggesting a *liga redemptora*, whose program would be that of seeking to secure complete emancipation in the Belem *municipio* by the following December 31 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 548).

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[89] The provisions of this law freed slaves from sixty to sixty-two years of age on the condition that they serve three additional years without remuneration. Slaves sixty-three years of age were to serve two additional years; those sixty-four, one additional year.

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In 1886 the municipal *camara* of Bahia, following the initiative of other Brazilian cities, authorized a *Livro de Ouro* ("Golden Book") in which the names of persons contributing toward the emancipation of slaves in the *municipio* were to be inscribed. On April 19 of the following year a project was presented to the municipal *camara* by its president, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, authorizing the setting-up of a commission to study means of extinguishing slavery throughout the *municipio*.

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On the eve of nation-wide abolition, or in 1887, a number of emancipation projects were presented to the Bahian *camara*. Two were presented in the state senate: one by Senator Taunay and one by Senator Dantas, the former setting Christmas, 1889, as the date of final abolition for the province of Bahia, and the latter naming December 31 of the same year. Slaves in various parts of Brazil, "learning that they are men and will one day be citizens," were by this time deserting the plantations.[30] Police and the soldiery often refused to aid in their recapture.

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In 1887, "as a significant manifestation of abolition senti-

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[30] In 1887 Fonseca mentions the "recent flight" en masse of slaves from several *fazendas* in the province of São Paulo. For instance, in Piracicaba, a hundred slaves fled from Barão de Serra Negra. In the *municipio* of Campos fifty slaves fled from the *fazenda* of Becco and, joined by other Negroes who were deserting the *fazenda* of Penha, turned upon the police sent out from Itu to apprehend them and caught, stripped, and beat them. That year the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazeta da Bahia*:

> Fled from the owner whose signature appears below the following slaves: Maria dos Neves, *cabra* [offspring of Negro and mulatto], short, stocky, round faced, with prominent cheek bones, milk-white teeth, straight hair, parted in the middle; speaks very rapidly. Antonio (who sometimes calls himself Maria da Piedade), dark *cabra*, short, fat, with good teeth, and large scars on breast and one arm (these scars are from burns). Was last seen in Rio Vermelho.
>
> Whoever recovers and brings these slaves to my office at Rua do Julião, No. 1, or to No. 113 Ribeira in Itapagipe, will be well rewarded.
>
> DR. JOSÉ ALVES CARDOSO E SILVA

(Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 595, 602–3, 161).

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ment," a picture of José Bonifacio was hung in the salon of the Gremio Litterario at Bahia, in the presence of "the principal civil and military authorities, representatives of the press, and several delegations from other organizations." The Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana took advantage of the occasion to present six "Letters of Liberty." As these were being distributed,

> a young slave girl, so covered with rags as to look like an abandoned beggar, forced her way into the assemblage and, falling upon her knees, begged and pleaded for her liberty. The pitiful aspect of this girl, the recently spoken words of Sr. Carige, and, above all, the sentiments evoked in contemplation of the sacrificial heroism of José Bonifacio, produced a profound effect. . . . . A citizen arose and said, "In honor of the memory of José Bonifacio, I contribute one hundred milreis toward the liberation of this woman."

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Finally, in 1888, the imperial government at Rio, through a decree signed by Princess Isabel, abolished slavery entirely, freeing the last six hundred thousand Negroes in bondage throughout the country.

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The extinction of the institution of slavery in Brazil thus came about gradually by means of a progressively increasing and finally irresistible popular movement, aided, it seems, by the decay of the sugar industry,[19] by the arguments of the economists who held that the slave was an expensive workman, by the example of the United States in freeing her slaves (which left Brazil the only slaveholding American nation), and by the "strain for consistency" exerted upon the institution by the philosophy of the French Revolution[20].

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[19] Silvio Romero, "O Brasil social," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXIX (1906), 111.

[20] In 1883 Joaquim Nabuco wrote: "Slavery has now endured in Brazil almost a century after the French Revolution taught the world to know and to love liberty."

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and the doctrines of Christianity. The normal development 567 ●
of the emancipation process was never checked or seriously 175
hampered by a wave of fear like that which swept over slave
areas in the United States following the Haitian revolution
and the consequent annihilation of Haitian whites and the
slaughter of thousands of mulattoes and blacks.

Resistance to abolition was apparently never strong or
well organized. It was not confined to any one section of the B
country but even in slaveholding centers like Bahia was, as
we have seen, constantly being undermined by local criti- BB
cism. An occasional newspaper "persisted in being a slave [204]
organ" or appeared "timid and acquiescent with reference
to slavery,"[93] but the overwhelming majority of the press
increasingly supported the antislavery cause.

It is, however, true that commercial leaders like Ramalho BB 175
Ortigão, president of the Bahian *Centro* of Commerce and 567
Agriculture, "tenaciously opposed" the abolition movement. 668
Anselmo da Fonseca says that Portuguese immigrants, 563 *
many of whom engaged in trade and commerce, were, with [441]
rare exceptions, "decided partisans of slavery" and not only
became "the greatest and most audacious slave traders of
Bahia" who offered most of the opposition to the cessation
of the slave traffic but also energetically opposed the aboli-
tion of slavery itself.[94] However, the prestige of this group,

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[93] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[94] "The Portuguese cannot comprehend a Brazil without slaves. We hear daily from them, 'The Negro is peculiarly created by nature for the cultivation of sugar'" (*ibid.*, pp. 155-56). The Portuguese are said to have been the principal violators of the law of 1831, several of the more powerful of whom Euzebio de Queiroz felt impelled to deport when, some twenty years after the passage of this law legally abolishing the slave trade, he sought effectively to suppress the traffic. However, immigrant laborers, since they were in competition with slave laborers, ordinarily opposed slavery. See Henry K. Norton, *The Coming of South America* (New York, 1932), pp. 103-4.

•567 from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very
*668 great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Bra-
563 zilian independence seems to have buried most of the ves-
[522] tiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are
the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

175 Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially
567 those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the
668 slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the
249 large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the pro-
464 vincial legislature and national parliament opposed the
abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated
[635] the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders ap-
[664] pear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable
.[665] and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial
[646] loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system
would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave
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[95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142-43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1883 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

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The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

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[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322). [423]

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297). [342]

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But the free Negro, in competition with the European and his descendants, was faced with a difficult struggle. Even though he might cease to speak Nagô and to scarify his face and body; even though his wife might discard her distinctive African costume, and both no longer identify themselves with African fetish beliefs and practices but give instead allegiance to Catholic forms; nevertheless, the free Negro could not escape the fact that he was sharply differentiated from the ruling class in color, hair texture, and facial characteristics. He could not readily discard a highly visible badge of his former slave status. Wherever he went he would be known, if not for a slave, at least for the descendant of slaves.

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The occupations of the free Negroes, or at least those of their immediate forebears, had been employments commensurate with servile status and had ordinarily consisted in hard, sordid, manual labor. The common saying, "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" ("Work [i.e., hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs"), reflects this fact. To work with one's hands has been in Brazil long considered debasing for a white man. As Monteiro has said, "Even if in Portugal he had been a servant with a hoe in his hands, upon setting his foot upon Brazilian soil, he cared not to work."[106] That artisan labor was not a white man's job was long a tradition in Brazil.[107] To be a white was identical with being noble,[108] and "there was a common root of plebeian origin: it was African descent."[109] Government employ was for a long time

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[106] Vahia Monteiro, quoted by F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 153.

[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[108] Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 139.

[109] "A côr significava nobreza; havia uma comum origem plebéia—o tronco africano" (Calmon, *op. cit.*, I, 24).

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CHAPTER III 175

CASA GRANDE AND *SENZALA*[1] 567

EVEN as late as the second quarter of the nineteenth [191]
century a visitor to Brazil wrote: "Again and again,
while travelling in the interior, I have seen troops
of new slaves of both sexes, who could not speak a single
word of Portuguese, varying from twenty to one hundred
individuals, marched inland for sale, or already belonging to
proprietors of plantations."[2] These newly imported Africans BB
were known as *negros novos*, or "new Negroes."[3]

Since the major portion of African importations into 175
Bahia came from contiguous territory in Africa, the Negroes 567
ordinarily brought with them closely related dialects and, 197
consequently, could more easily communicate among them- BB
selves in African tongues. Gradually there came into gen- 175
eral use, especially among the influential semi-independent 197
negros de ganho, an African language known as Nagô,[4] which [177]
by facilitating intercommunication intensified the Negroes' [563]*
moral isolation from the white world and retarded the whole
acculturation process. Nagô continued for a long time to B

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[1] The "Big House" and the "slave quarters."

[2] George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836-1841* (London, 1849), p. 12. [113]

[3] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 187. BB

[4] "Like the French, we in Bahia call Nagôs all Negroes from the Slave Coast who speak the Yoruba language. Of this group we have received slaves from all the smaller subdivisions, from Oyó the capital of Yoruba, from Ilorin, Ige-sha, Ibadan, Ifé, Iebú, Egba, Lagos, etc." (*ibid.*, p. 157). [161]

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual [165]
whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a 175
considerable extent the preservation of African cultural 567 •
forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in 178
Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby
able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations
the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The con- 175
centration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of 361
large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around 178
whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number 563*
of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the
persistence of African cultural elements.

It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure 175
form but came to be a patois containing numerous ele- 197
ments from other African dialects as well as from Portu-
guese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting [797]
Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gége (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

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[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances 796
still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such 535
an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white 571
citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images 177
employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa,
and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia. 175

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had 778
been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and in- 794
fluence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a 178
slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often re- 175
ceived allegiance and great reverence from them. On a
chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are 554
told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a bless- 567 •
ing requested of them." Even their masters were reported
to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, 175
especially the house servants, soon became, by the very 191
necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. 567
And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children 177
of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

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[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: [541]
"I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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191 . . . . is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are
567 allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . . quite
forgotten."[17] With the acquisition of the master's language
went quite naturally other European habits and customs,
and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*,
BB grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

175 Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system
567 continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild
571 form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth
of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize
the institution and to modify its formal and legal character
to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton,
enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the
middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in
B oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in
BB it."[18]

175 Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal rela-
565 tions is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of
567 the humor of the situation by the able French artist De-
571 bret.[19] The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting
out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

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[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[18] Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 270.

[19] Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[20] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

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> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeosie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[21]

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In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[22] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[23] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[24] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

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[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[21] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[22] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821-1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

[23] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

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[24] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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seated on the floor at the feet of their mistress and her daughter, while two little Negro babies play near by.[25] Koster wrote of an estate near Recife that the "Great House" was full of young Negro children. "They were quite naked, and played with each other, and with some large dogs which were lying at full length upon the floor. These ebon cupids were plainly great favorites, and seemed to employ the greater part of the thoughts of the good ladies, the youngest of whom was on the other side of fifty; and even the priest laughed at their gambols."[26] Visiting in the interior of Rio de Janeiro province in 1823, Maria Graham noted that "the female in-door slaves . . . . have been mostly . . . . brought up in their mistress' house." She saw "children of all ages and colors running about, who seemed to be as tenderly treated as if they had been of the family," and commented that, under these conditions, slavery was "more like that of the patriarchal times, where the purchased servant became to all intents one of the family."[27] "How many times," writes Lacerda, "have we not seen masters who did not hesitate to bring their little mulatto slaves to the family table?"[28] Relations within these households became so intimate that, as sometimes also occurred in our South, white women took to their breasts colored babies whose mothers had died in childbirth.[29]

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In the home, on the plantation, along the roads of the

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[25] Debret writes (*ibid.*, p. 39): "A Rio de Janeiro et dans toutes les autres villes du Brésil, il est d'usage, pendant le tête-à-tête d'un *diner marital*, que le mari s'occupe silencieusement de ses affaires, et que la *femme* s'amuse de ses *petits* négrillons, qui remplacent la famille presque éteinte des petits chiens carlins en Europe."

[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 258–59.

[27] *Op. cit.*, pp. 279–80.

[28] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds, of Brazil," *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[29] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 327.

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rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company. And since human beings, wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradually to break down the formal barriers between the races and to modify the nature of slavery.

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It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan conception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." Thus

> there is no more commendable action in Mohammedan morals than to free slaves, and such enfranchisement is enjoined by the Prophet especially as an atonement for an undeserved blow or other injustice. In Andalusia, the slaves upon the estates that had passed . . . . into the possession of Moslems were almost in the position of small farmers; their Mohammedan masters, whose trade was war, and who despised heartily such menial occupations as tilling the soil, left them free to cultivate the land as they pleased, and only insisted on a fair return of products.[19]

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[19] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), p. 48. Cf. also: "The Mohammedan slave was rarely

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Mild though its original form may have been, slavery in Brazil was not, as we have already seen, without at least occasional evidences of brutality. The fact is that slavery in Brazil was *both* mild *and* severe. But as an institution continuing over centuries it became more and more mild. Cases of brutality ordinarily occurred under conditions of absentee ownership or in fear of slave insurrection, or arose in dealing with recalcitrant and unsubjected individuals, many of them at the hands of mixed-blood or Negro overseers who in this way unconsciously compensated for otherwise limited social effectiveness.[31] Moreover, the relatively few cases which did occur were so ably used by such prominent political and intellectual leaders as Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco that they have probably left behind in the Brazilian mind of today an exaggerated notion of the cruelties of slavery. The important point to note is that, under circumstances of intimate, personal contact, the institution of slavery, with its occasional cases of harsh treatment, gradually lost its character as a political, and assumed that of a patriarchal and familial, institution.

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Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil

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abused. . . . . His acceptance of the faith of Islam rendered his manumission easy. No stigma attached to his (subsequent) condition" (S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* [Philadelphia, 1904], p. 660.

[31] Koster, reflecting over the fact that mulattoes, especially those who had formerly been slaves, "make bad masters," concluded that "the change of situation would lead to the same consequences in any race of human beings" (*op. cit.*, II, 177–78).

The opportunities in Brazil 567 for these relations to develop, particularly in the case of 571 domestic servants, were extensive. Cooper states a fact long 357 characteristic of the upper classes in Brazil when he says: 175 "As in the East, the houses are . . . . filled with . . . . servants, and these servants partake of the character of their Eastern prototypes in their . . . . willingness to perform the many small and menial acts of personal service which the B Brazilian requires, but which would hardly be expected of BB servants in the United States."[12]

Symbolic of the intimate nature of these relations was the 567 common form of etiquette which grew up and became cus- 571 tomary between Brazilian master and slave. It is said to 576 have been a practice observed in all well-regulated families 175 that slaves, "of both sexes and of every age," requested each morning and evening a blessing from their master. According to Stewart, the words used in the middle of the nineteenth century were, "I beseech your blessing [or "Grant me a blessing"], in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!" To which the master replied, "Jesus Christ bless you forever!"[13] As João Ribeiro has aptly said, "Agrupavam-se em familias, senão no sentido da lei, ao menos da religião."[14]

Debret, who spent several months at Rio in the early part of the same century, says[15] that it was there customary for

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[12] Clayton S. Cooper, *The Brazilians and Their Country* (New York, 1917), pp. 61-62. Cf. also Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V, No. 4 (November, 1922), 607.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

[14] "They were united into families, if not by law, at least by religion."

[15] *Op. cit.*, III, 130. Cf. also the account of Maria Graham regarding a *fazenda* in the province of Rio de Janeiro: "I attended the weekly muster of all the Negroes of the *fazenda;* clean shirts and trousers were given to the

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slaves, on repeating the evening Ave Maria, to present themselves before the master with a "Boa noite, meu senhor,"[36] in reply to which, as a sign of approbation, the master made a simple movement of the head. It was also customary for a Negro who by chance met a white acquaintance on a public thoroughfare to bow his head, extend his right hand, half-opened, and to request a blessing, to which the white replied, "Deus te faça santo,"[37] or simply "Viva!"

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These forms of etiquette, together with their religious implications, although they became in time highly conventionalized and occasionally were reduced to "the shortest possible abbreviation" and repeated with "all manner of intonations of voice and every mood of humor,"[38] still symbolized the recognition on the part of the master of a common human bond with his slaves. "I can call to mind," writes Codman, "many touching incidents of the kind feelings of masters and servants towards each other."[39]

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Relationships of this character were undoubtedly advantageous to the Negro, not only during his period of subjection as a slave but also after his enfranchisement. Koster says of Brazilian neighbors in Pernambuco who possessed a considerable number of slaves:

> These excellent women and the good priest [intend] eventually to emancipate all of them; and that they may be prepared for the change, several of the men have been brought up as mechanics of different

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men, and shifts and shirts to the women, of very coarse white cotton. Each, as he or she came in, kissed a hand, and then bowed to Mr. P. saying either, 'Father, give me blessing,' or 'The names of Jesus and Mary be praised!' and were answered accordingly, either 'Bless you,' or 'Be they praised!' This is the custom in old establishments: it is repeated morning and evening, and seems to acknowledge a kind of relationship between master and slave" (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

[36] "Good night, my master."

[37] "God make thee a saint."

[38] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[39] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 101.

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descriptions; and the women have been taught needle-work, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.[40]

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In 1822 an observer in Rio noted:

> When the Emperor had received the public bodies, he came and led the Empress into the great receiving room, and there, both of them standing on the upper step of the throne, had their hands kissed by naval, military and civil officers, and private citizens. . . . . It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some Negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their pouting African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Imperador* (Our Emperor), and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them, a bond of kindness *to* them.[41]

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"There is evidently," commented another visitor, "a sincere wish to make the liberated slave a useful citizen, if possible."[42]

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

> He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . . .[43]

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[40] *Op. cit.*, I, 258: "The owners said that all their own immediate relations were rich; . . . . and that therefore these their children had no right to work for any one else."

[41] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[42] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 271–72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 192–94) says that, although

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The two days in seven which according to custom the master allotted the slave for the cultivation of a plot of land[44] was as early as 1700 sanctioned in law.[45] His right in property could be transferred to his children.[46] He could

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"a great deal depends upon the inclinations of the master, he will, however, be very careful in refusing to manumit, owing to the well-known opinion of every priest in favor of this regulation, to the feelings of the individuals of his own class in society, and to those of the lower orders of people; and likewise he will be afraid of losing his slave. He may escape with his money; and the master will then run much risk of never seeing him again, particularly if the individual is a creole slave. . . . . The master might indeed deprive the slave of the fruits of his labor, but this is never thought of; because the slave preserves his money in a secret place, or he has entrusted it to some person upon whom he can depend, and would suffer any punishment rather than disclose the spot in which his wealth lies concealed."

[44] "This day [Sunday] . . . . is the Negroes' own; after morning mass they are free to do their own will; and then most of them run to the hill to gather their coffee or maise, or prepare the ground for these or vegetables. They were just beginning to return from the wood, each with his . . . . basket laden with something of his own, something in which the master had no share; and again and again as they passed me, and displayed with glistening eye the little treasure, I blessed the Sabbath, the day of freedom to the slave" (Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

[45] João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brasil* (3d rev. ed.; Rio, 1909), p. 255.

[46] However, if the slave died childless, his property reverted to the master. Note the following account given by Maria Graham regarding a slave on an estate in the province of Rio: "He was a mulatto boatman, the most trusty servant on the estate, and rich, because he is industrious enough to have earned a good deal of private property, besides doing his duty to his master. In his youth, and he is not now old, he had become attached to a creole woman, born, like him on the estate, but he did not marry her until he had earned money enough to purchase her, in order that their children, if they had any, might be born free. Since that time, he has become rich enough to purchase himself, even at the high price which such a slave might fetch; but his master will not sell him his freedom, his services being too valuable to lose, notwithstanding his promise to remain on the estate and work. Unfortunately, these people have no children; therefore on their death their property, now considerable, will revert to the master" (*op. cit.*, pp. 197–98).

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He could take his master's name.[47] Slaves who desired to change masters had the right to request transfer, and the master was expected to acquiesce.[48] Intercession in behalf of a fugitive slave, or even of one about to be punished for some other offense, is said seldom to have been in vain.[49] The master guilty of inhuman treatment toward his slave was liable to the police or tribunals.[50] Some masters preferred to have

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[47] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256; cf. also Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 327: "Hence, the many Cavalcantis, Albuquerques, Mellos, Mouras, Wanderleys, Lins, Carneiro Leãos, etc., who possess none of the illustrious blood which their names imply."

[48] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 194) records that "for this purpose a note is given, declaring that the bearer has leave to enter into the service of any one, upon the price which the master demands being paid by the purchaser. With this the slave applies to any individual or property whom he may wish to serve; owing to having heard a good report of his character toward his slaves, or from any other cause. This is a frequent practice." The following interesting case was observed: "A Negro woman applied to a planter to be purchased; for which purpose she had brought a note from her master. She was accepted; and a bargain was concluded between the two persons. However, the day after she had taken up her abode upon the estate of her new master, she came to him, and falling down upon her knees, said that she had a fellow-slave who wished likewise to serve him; and she begged him to purchase her companion. The new master spoke to the owner of the slave in question of the subject; but he refused to sell him, and the matter rested in this manner. But on the third day, he received a visit from the owner, offering the slave for sale, adding, that the man had refused to work, and had threatened to hang himself; and as he was a Gabão Negro (noted for the resolute manner which, on occasion, they committed suicide), he much feared that he might put his threat into execution. The price was soon fixed, and on the following morning the man made his appearance. He proved to be a most excellent slave" (*ibid.*, p. 203 n.).

[49] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. also: "Costumes belissimos instituem-se entre os senhores; como o de *apadrinhar* os remissos ou fugitivos, o que impede o castigo, e nunhum senhor viola" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255).

[50] J. B. von Spix and C. F. von Martius, *Travels in Brasil, 1817–1820*, trans. H. E. Lloyd (2 vols.; London, 1824), I, 179.

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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[51] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[52]

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[53] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[54] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[55] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[56] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[57] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

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[51] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[55] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 264.

[56] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[57] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

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[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this . . . . act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

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In the light of these customs which gradually grew up and ameliorated the lot of the bondsman, it is not surprising that neither Brazil nor the mother-country ever felt it necessary to adopt a "Black Code." The Englishman Dent says "I had certainly opportunity of seeing something of the treatment of slaves, being thirteen months in the country; but I never came across any other than considerate kindness from master to slave, sometimes even far greater benevolence and consideration than is exercised towards servants in our own country."[64] Dent mentions an old Negro woman who "had received her liberty sometime ago, but seemed to be much attached to the family and never to have thought of leaving them."[65] Numerous other visitors to Brazil remark that the slaves appeared to be treated with kindness, to be well cared for, and happy. In 1821 Mathison noted that Negroes on an estate near Rio "showed by their cheerful looks and bodily condition that they were well taken care of."[66] "He who has had occasion to observe the happy songs and dances that are sung and danced after sunset by great groups of Negroes in the streets of Bahia," wrote the German scientists, Spix and Martius, "can with difficulty be convinced that these are the same slaves which one had thought, according to the exaggerated accounts of certain writers, had been pulled down to an animal existence."[67]

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[64] Hastings Charles Dent, *A Year in Brasil* (London, 1886), p. 285. Compare the remarks of another English traveler, Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 10): "I want to say that, although some slaves may have been (and undoubtedly were) badly treated, a great many of them were better off than some free-born people here in England in the present day."

[65] *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

[66] Gilbert Farquhar Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit to Brasil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands, 1821–1822* (London, 1825), pp. 93, 121.

[67] Spix and Martius, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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Wells, journeying three thousand miles through the interior of Brazil a few years before abolition, thought that "many a poor laborer at home [in the United States] would enjoy their lot."[68] Gardner, who during five years' residence "saw more than has fallen to the lot of most Europeans," said:

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> I have conversed with Negroes in all parts of the country, and have met with but very few who expressed any regret at having been taken from their own country, or a desire to return to it. On some of the large estates at which I have resided for short periods, the number of slaves often amounted to three or four hundred, and but for my previous knowledge of their being such, I could never have found out from my own observations that they were slaves. I saw . . . . contented and well-conditioned laborers turning out from their little huts, often surrounded by a small garden, and proceeding to their respective daily occupations, from which they returned in the evening anything but broken and bent down with the severity of their tasks.[69]

Codman wrote:

> It is the result of my observation, and I believe that of every one who has investigated the subject, that the Brazilians are generally kind and indulgent masters, treating their slaves with much greater leniency than has been practised by any other people among whom the "institution" has existed in modern times.[70]

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[68] James W. Wells, *Three Thousand Miles through Brazil* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1886), II, 187.

[69] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

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[70] *Op. cit.*, p. 201. Absentee ownership, however, occasionally resulted, as on the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo visited by Mawe, in a "system of management . . . . so bad that the slaves are half starved, almost destitute of clothing, and most miserably lodged" (John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* [Philadelphia, 1816], p. 115). Note also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Nor is it to be supposed that the field hands always fared as well as the house servants. Compare the conclusion of Stewart (*op. cit.*, p. 296): "House servants in Rio [1852] are said to have easy times, and to do very much as they please; but to judge from the incidents I have seen of field laborers, I fear such have but a sad and wearisome life."

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The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"[71] which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."[72]

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It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.[73] But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

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[71] "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. , . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

[72] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[73] Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

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cumstances they gradually lost their African customs and traditions and took over more and more European ideas, attitudes, and points of view.

This loyalty and devotion, as well as even deeds of heroism, on the part of Negro slaves quite naturally evoked corresponding sentiments of appreciation and affection in masters and their children. Mrs. Louis Agassiz, visiting, together with her husband, the Academy of Fine Arts in Rio in 1865, noted with particular interest the portrait of a Negro

> who, in a shipwreck off the coast, had saved a number of lives at the risk of his own. When he had brought several passengers to the shore, he was told that two children still remained in the ship. He swam back once more and brought them safely to the beach, but then sank down exhausted, and was seized with a hemorrhage. A considerable sum was raised for him in the city of Rio, and his picture was placed in the Academy to commemorate his heroism.[74]

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There hangs today in the Pinacotheca at Bahia a famous painting of the *mãe preta*, or "black mother." "We children," recently remarked a prominent Bahian banker, "respected our *mãe preta* as much as, or perhaps even more than, we did our own parents. I'm sure we feared her more and obeyed her more readily."

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Henrique Dias, a Pernambucan slave, materially and somewhat spectacularly aided the Portuguese when they were engaged, during the seventeenth century, in driving the Dutch out of Pernambuco. Captured, he was shortly released, the Dutch thinking that "because he was a Negro slave he wasn't worth the cost of feeding." He returned to fight effectively for the Portuguese and was once wounded in battle. Following the expulsion of the Dutch, he was given many honors, commissioned in the local militia, and put in

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[74] Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 478.

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command of a Negro regiment. As a Bahian *preto* recently remarked with pride, "His contribution to his country was an honored one."

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Negros novos were required by law to be baptized into the Christian religion on penalty of forfeiture to the state. Those from Portuguese Angola were baptized in lots before they left their native shores.[75] The mark of the royal crown upon their breasts signified that they had undergone this ceremony and also that the king's duty had been paid. With slaves from other parts of Africa, the master was allowed a year for the instruction requisite for baptism.[76] Debret noted that elderly Negroes acquainted with African languages were often used to catechise the candidates, ordinarily the oldest and "most virtuous" slaves being chosen for this purpose.[77]

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One of the first things taught was the threefold sign of the cross accompanied by the words, "The sign of the cross delivers us from our enemies." Slaves were not considered, we are told, "members of society, but rather brute animals," until they could "lawfully go to mass, confess their sins, and receive the sacrament."[78] Participation in these ceremonies made them fellow human beings.

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On the plantations slaves were regularly instructed in Catholic ritual and belief, chaplains often being retained on the larger estates for this purpose as well as to conduct the public religious ceremonies in the chapel attached to the plantation. Mawe, visiting the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo near Rio in the early years of the nineteenth century, noted that it was customary "to have prayers publicly read

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[75] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[76] Koster (*ibid.*) writes that "the law is not always strictly adhered to as to time, but it is never evaded altogether."

[77] *Op. cit.*, III, 129.

[78] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

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to slaves morning and evening, at the commencement and 175
close of their day's labor."[79] Mathison noted that "on Sun- 795
day large numbers of slaves may be seen in the churches, 567
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particularly females."[80] For the exclusive worship of the B B
Negroes, certain saints—Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São 175
Benedito, and Santa Efigenia—were set aside, and their im- 567
ages were often, and still are today, painted black. Numer- 794
ous *irmandades* composed entirely of Negroes were organ- [776]
ized, usually under the patronage of São Benedito and
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Nossa Senhora do Rosario,[81] and in Bahia, at least, these [178]
all-Negro organizations persist to the present day. Koster,
writing about 1800, tells us:

> The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades, and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.[82]

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In 1848 Henry Bates noted that on an estate called 175
Caripí, near Pará, the Christmas festival "was celebrated by 796
the Negroes of their own free will, and in a very pleasing 794
manner." 567

> The room next to the one I had chosen was the *capella*, or chapel. It had a little altar which was neatly arranged, and the room was furnished with a magnificent brass chandelier. Men, women, and children were busy in the chapel all day on the 24th of December, decorating the altar with flowers and strewing the floor with orange leaves. They invited some of their neighbors to the evening prayers; and when the simple ceremony began, an hour before midnight, the chapel was

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[79] Mawe, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

[81] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

[82] *Op. cit.*, I, 199–200.

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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

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As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

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[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15.

[86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[87] The Catholic church 175
was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro 178
but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which 796
in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth B
century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is B B
resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their 175
masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and 795
adopt them."[88] 797
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As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas 177
and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by B
intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted B B
in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects 175
of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in 177
the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, 79
of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we [776]
shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African
and European forms in the principal religious and popular
festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro: B

> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour 17
> with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the 796
> Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

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[87] *Ibid.*

[88] *Op. cit.*, I, 100.

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> members of the . . . . church. . . . . Exhibitions of this kind are far from being limited here to extraordinary holidays, or to the seclusion of by-places. I have seen them in open daylight, in the most public corners of the city, while young [white] females . . . . hung over the surrounding balconies as spectators.[69]

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The festival here witnessed was probably that of the Rei do Congo ("King of the Congo"). Throughout Brazil, Africans were permitted on occasion to select a king and a queen and to celebrate their coronation with extensive ceremonies. This festival came to be held at the same time as that of the Catholic celebration of Epiphany and to be confused in the minds of the Negroes with it.[70] Of the king and queen, Koster records:

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> The personages . . . . fixed upon may either actually be slaves, or they may be manumitted Negroes. These sovereigns exercise a species of mock jurisdiction over their subjects, which is much laughed at by the whites. But their chief power and superiority over their countrymen is shown on the day of the festival. The Negroes of their nation . . . . pay much respect to them. The man who had acted as their king in Itamaraca (for each district has its king) for several years, was about to resign from old age, and a new chief was to be chosen. He who had been fixed upon for this purpose was an old man and a slave, belonging to the plantation of Amparo. The . . . . queen would not resign, but still continued at her post. The old Negro who was this day to be crowned, came early in the morning to pay his respects to the vicar, who said to him in a jocular manner, "Well, sir, today I am to wait upon you, and to be your chaplain." About eleven o'clock I proceeded to the church with the vicar. We were standing at the door when there appeared a number of male and female Negroes, habited in cotton dresses of colors and of white, with flags flying and drums beating; and as they approached, we discovered among them the king and queen, and the secretary of state. Each of the former wore upon their heads a crown, which was partly covered with gilt

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[69] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

[70] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256: ". . . . festa que eles faziam coincidir e confundir com a catolica dos Tres Reis."

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Stewart recounts of Rio in 1852 that "two black African women, richly and fashionably attired, came sauntering along with the most conscious air of high-bred self-possession. They were followed by a black female slave, also in full dress, carrying a black baby three or four months old, and decked out in all the finery of an aristocratic heir—an elaborately wrought, lace-frilled and rosetted cap, and long flowing robe of thin muslin beautifully embroidered, and ornamented with lace."[105]

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A fashion which in the early part of the nineteenth century served "to mark the high rank of those (of either sex) who adopted it" was that of "permitting the nails of the fore-finger and thumb to grow to a great length . . . . [and be] cut to a sharp point."[106] Today, while the whites in Bahia no longer follow this fashion, one occasionally sees individuals of prominence in the Negro group—for instance, Mãe Anninha of the *candomblé* of São Gonçalo—with long fingernails.

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However, assimilation is not a process in which the individuals of only one of the races in contact are modified thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged. Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely found a white child, especially during the slave period, who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or hammock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôte!' or 'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

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[105] *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

[106] Andrew Grant, *History of Brasil* (London, 1809), p. 234.

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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô*:[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

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[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumbo meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 259–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

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[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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Koster found the masters and their families taking over many of the customs of their slaves."[114]

Grant, visiting Bahia about 1800, noted that the principal amusement engaged in at private gatherings of the upper class was a dance of African origin:

> It is performed by an individual of each sex moving their bodies to the monotonous tones of an instrument, always in one measure, and with scarcely any action of the legs or feet. The spectators seem delighted with the performance, and cheer the dancers by the most clamorous marks of approbation. This national dance . . . . is indulged in by all ranks of the citizens. . . . ."[115]

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Numerous changes in the whites' speech occurred. Especially was this true on isolated fazendas where *senhores* and their families were semiliterate or even illiterate. The *r* and the *s* disappeared as final consonants from many words, *fazer* becoming *fazê; mandar*, *mandá; comer*, *comê;* and *lh* was often reduced to *l*, *mulher* becoming *muler; colher*, *coler;* etc. In 1798 the bishop of Recife urged the teachers in a local *recolhimento* to try to correct "certain errors of speech" in the young ladies there studying, especially that of inverting certain letters and saying, for instance, *breço* instead of *berço*, *cravão* instead of *carvão;* of omitting letters in the middle of a word and saying, for example, *teado* instead of *telhado*, *fio* instead of *filho;* of dropping the final letter of the plural or of words ending in a harsh sound and saying, for instance, *muitas florê* for *muitas flores*, and *Portugá* for *Portugal*."[116] Freyre says that these dialectical modifications were particularly noticeable among isolated families in the rural areas, where Negro slaves were "constantly within the

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[114] *Op. cit.*, I, 200–201.

[115] *Op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

[116] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 103.

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In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônhô* replaced *menino; tilio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia; dodoe* for *doe; dindinho* for *padrinho; vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Dondon" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Teté"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepé"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."[119]

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In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."[120] Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."[121]

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The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *mucama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

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[119] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

[120] João Ribeiro, *A lingua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

[121] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

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often hears in Bahia the expression *melhorando a raca* ("improving the breed").[37]

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The attitude here inferred arose during slavery, when it became a distinct privilege for a Negro woman to bear a child to her white master; for she and her progeny were thereby placed in a more advantageous position, especially as far as material benefits, and even freedom, were concerned.

João Varella, in a booklet entitled *Da Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim*, reproduces the figure of a Negro woman bearing a young child bound to her back by a wide cloth. "When the child was black and ugly," Varella writes, "he was usually carried in this fashion. If, however, he was a *coisa mais limpa* (literally, 'a cleaner thing'), he was borne in front, in his mother's arms, so that all the world might the more readily see him."

This desire "to marry whiter" is not limited to the female portion of the black population. Successful males here, as in Haiti and the United States, generally seek to insure further their status and that of their children by marrying lighter-

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[37] Of twenty-four babies delivered at the free maternity ward of Santa Isabel Hospital from Negro and mulatto mothers, four, an obstetrician thought, would grow up relatively "white," while only two appeared to be completely negroid. Although pigmentation apparently is not fixed at this early period, the appearance of *manchas* (or deeply colored "stains," called in popular speech *genipapo* after a common Brazilian fruit of a similar coffee-brown color), on either the back or buttocks is, in Bahia, commonly considered an index of subsequent dark pigmentation over the entire body. Three of the babies from dark mulatto women and one whose mother was a light mixed-blood showed no evidence of *manchas*. One dark mulatto mother, when requested, removed her child's clothing and proudly displayed his back free from these marks. The obstetrician, with a smile and a friendly pat on the mother's shoulder, inquired, "It's father was white, wasn't he?" The colored mother, pleased, replied, "I have five other children like him, all without *manchas*."

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563 seventeenth century largely disappeared, Zacharias Wagner
at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with
Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occur-
[829] rence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native
women to have children "belonging to the superior race,
since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage
was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following
Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was in-
* volved.[9]

563 Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the
593 mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not al-
ways characteristic of informal unions. Although human
(848) beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, il-
legitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a
father in the family and the relative security in other re-
spects of legitimate children.

175 Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous
*212 individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equip-
563 ment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also
•[567] "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of
whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliter-
ate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries
there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not
rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends
on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

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[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

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other possessions, did know how to read and write."[11] Incidentally, some of these men were light mulattoes.

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The Negro women known in Bahia as "Minas" were famed for their fine physiques, their proud, dignified bearing, and their culinary skill.[12] They were probably Fulahs and Ashantis who were called "Minas" after the name of the Portuguese slave factory on the West Coast known as Forte de el Mina,[13] whence they were imported into Brazil. They approximated the whites in color and features perhaps more closely than any other imported Africans. Araripe Junior writes that they made "excellent companions." "Healthy, ingenuous, and affectionate, it was inevitable," he concludes, "under the precarious conditions of the first and second centuries, that they should dominate the situation."[14] It is probably among these women that the first legal marriages of Europeans with Negro women occurred. In 1730 the governor of Rio de Janeiro, Luis Vahia Monteiro, stated that "there is no Mineiro [gold miner] who can live without a Mina Negro woman. They say that only with them are they lucky."[15] The Minas became not only *amigas* and *mancebas* of the Europeans but eventually *donas de casa* ("housewives").

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[11] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), II, 178–79.

[12] Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, tomo especial, *Congresso Internacional de Historia da America* (1927), V, 481.

[13] Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), pp. 324–25.

[14] Araripe Junior, *Gregorio de Mattos* (Rio, 1894), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[15] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 149.

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Dampier, who visited Bahia in the seventeenth century, knew several Europeans living in common-law marriage with Negro women. By this time the relations were not merely casual affairs. "Many an African woman," we are told, "had managed to gain the respect of her white mate; some through the fear inspired by their *mandingas* (black magic); others, like the Minas for example, by their affectionate natures and womanly qualities."[16] "At least a minority of these women had by this time achieved for themselves . . . . positions as housekeepers to the whites; no longer were they kept in the *sensalas* merely for the physical pleasure of their masters and the increase of his human capital." By the early nineteenth century the marriage of white men with *mulheres de côr* were, we are told, not rare.[17] [581] [171] The women involved, like the Osage Indian women of the United States, for instance, whose oil lands have increased their desirability as wives for white men,[18] often possessed considerable property. Such cases were "commented upon in intimate circles but without acrimony, especially when the excuse proved to be the dowry of the bride."

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Other marriage partners of the whites were mixed-bloods, men as well as women. Gradually, we are told, marriages with mulattoes came "no longer to be disdained as they formerly were, now that the high position of the mulatto

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[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[17] Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 178.

[18] "The white demand for Osage women, who are rich in oil land, is now so great that the Indian agent requires every prospective husband to give a bond, submit to a physical examination, and present character references. White husbands have become so easy to get that they are now considered somewhat less desirable than even Indian men of other tribes" (Ralph Linton, "An Anthropological View of Race Mixture," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XIX [1924], 76).

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted 567•
in an intermediate population group in more favor- 357
able position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, 554
because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, 175
learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, 56
legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and 848
even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a [145]
number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told,
were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily [793]
from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige,
transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

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[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

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Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

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Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

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[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

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and mulatto slaves noticeable even before 1800, had by the 563*
end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century become 567 ●
great. In 1822, for instance, the free blacks in Maranhão B
were reckoned at 9,308; the free mulattoes, at 25,111. 175
Only 6,580 mulattoes were still in bondage as compared with 162
77,954 blacks. Thus, in this important center of Negro concentration, 563*
over three-fourths of the mixed-bloods had by 567
1822 been emancipated, whereas approximately only one-eighth
of the blacks had been liberated. Walsh in 1828
reports that there were at that time in Brazil approximately
160,000 free blacks and 400,000 free mulattoes. In
1835, among a total of 170,000 mulattoes in Minas Geraes,
only 40,000, or less than one-fourth, were reported to be
slaves; while 250,000 out of an estimated 305,000 blacks, or BB
approximately five-sixths, were still in bondage.[4] Although [175]
no figures are available for Bahia, it is likely that similar [162] [563]*
proportions held here also. [567]

These numerically important liberated mulattoes began B BB
their rise in social rank by becoming small farmers (*lavradores*, 563*
sitiantes), or artisans (both rural and urban), street 463
merchants, small shopkeepers, etc., taking their places beside 175
those lower-class whites who either had not yet risen
or did not possess the requisite ability to rise. B BB

Free blacks, as well as free mulattoes, were able to establish 175
themselves in manual occupations more readily than 563*
their brothers in the United States because the descendants 463
of Europeans in Brazil have ordinarily looked down upon 461
manual labor, as attested by the common saying: "Trabalho
é para cachorro e negro" (work [that is, hard manual labor] is
for Negroes and dogs). "Whatever may have be[illegible] the en-

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[4] Maurice Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), p. 27.

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463 ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Bra-
461 zilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against la-
bor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color
B entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way
BB aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

175 The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial
565 period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climb-
55 ing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small
B herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attain-
BB ing, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

*175 Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For
563 in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of
•567 slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of
463 free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monções*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

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[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249-50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior or raided Indian villages for slaves.

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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

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The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

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[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

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[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

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Similarly, an army uniform, "especially the gold braid of an officer, Aryanized and 'aristocratized' many mulattoes into whites."[31]

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The rise of the mixed-bloods was also facilitated by the conviction which, since at least the late eighteenth century, had been crystallizing in the minds of Brazilian intellectuals to the effect that the Negroes, whose strong arms and backs had long furnished the country's labor supply, were to a considerable extent the actual builders of Brazil. In prose and poetry not only the toil of the slave but also the creative energies of the free people of color came to be exalted.[32] This appreciation of the African contribution to Brazilian civilization increased with the progress of the abolition campaign. Especially were the *amas* extolled.[33] Much of the abolition sentiment had its sanction in the affectionate gratitude of young aristocrats whom they had reared.

The rise of the mulatto, as also that of the black, was further favored by the gradual, rather than catastrophic, character of the emancipation process which in Brazil released most of the lower stratum of society from servile status gradually and as individuals, under circumstances favorable to the continuance of those intimate personal ties so highly advantageous to a "new freeman." Moreover, final emancipation was not, as in our South, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the normal relations which had

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[31] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

[32] See Borges dos Reis, "Colonos indigenas e escravos," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXVIII (1902), 61. Note also Alvarengo Peixoto's stanza:

> ". . . . homens de varias accidentes
> pardos, pretos, tintos e tostados
> . . . . os fortes braços feitos ao trabalho."

[33] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 128.

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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement.

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The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

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Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand.

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Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

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The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[34] Similarly,

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[34] "The daughters, the *yáyás* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

562 high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

121 564 •567 Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is somewhat more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

121 *563 567 In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

> Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

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[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816–1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Arqueologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 250.

[9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264–65.

> under the happiest circumstances, the individual feels himself constrained only by those obligations which he freely accepts or imposes upon himself. 121 563* 567 •
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> It is characteristic of such a moral order that it is nonrational. That means that it is not devised to protect any special interest, to serve any policy, and has no ulterior purposes of any sort. On the contrary, it arises in response to the natural claims which one individual makes upon another, as soon as he recognizes that other individual as human like himself.[19]

Manumission, as we have seen, extensively occurred from the first. And final emancipation came about as the culmination of a widespread liberation movement which had for years dominated the public mind. The Brazilian Negro was thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of intimate personal ties. Final emancipation was not, as in the United States, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the race relations which had normally grown up under slavery were never exacerbated by a program of reconstruction imposed from without by armed conquest. The rise of the black and of the mixed-blood in Brazil has always had in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend to develop. 121 567

In Bahia there is probably little or no race prejudice in the sense in which that term is used in the United States. There are no castes based on race; there are only classes. This does not mean that there is nothing which might be properly called prejudice but that such prejudice as does exist is *class* rather than *caste* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which exists *inside* the ranks of the Negro in the United States, the amount and intensity of which is actually very great. 121 56

That race prejudice has not arisen in Brazil is perhaps due 121 563*

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[19] Park, Introduction to Bertram W. Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South* (Chicago, 1937), pp. xiv–xv.

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been breaking down, particularly along the biological borders of the races, and, with the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group, this tendency is evidently increasing. Although color and negroid features are still symbolic of slave origin, still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these physical marks lose their restraining character in proportion to the degree white intermixture increases or—what is even more important—in proportion to the degree their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of other qualities of a status-enhancing character in a given individual.

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6. In general, slavery in Brazil, as also in the United States, was characterized by the continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended gradually to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character. The Brazilian moral order became organized, to a considerable extent, on a familial and personal basis.

7. The custom of manumission became firmly intrenched in the Brazilian mores, constituting, under certain circumstances, universally expected behavior. Brazilian Negroes were thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of those intimate personal ties already built up.

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8. Emancipation sentiment in Brazil never suffered from a wave of fear like that which swept our South after the Negro uprising in Haiti and the disorders attendant on the subsequent annihilation of the Haitian whites.

9. Abolition sentiment and agitation was not limited to any one section of Brazil but, on the contrary, penetrated every community, even that of Bahia, where the institution

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of slavery was apparently very firmly intrenched. Thus, the "struggle for consistency" in the Brazilian mores went on *inside* each local community, where it had in its favor the intimate and personal relations of individuals who not only lived in close proximity to each other but were also bound together by ties of family, religion, and friendship.

10. Final emancipation came about as the culmination of a widespread liberation movement which for years had dominated the public mind. The release of the last slaves in bondage did not, as in the United States, occur as an incident of civil strife, nor were the race relations which have normally grown up under slavery ever exacerbated by a program of "reconstruction" imposed by armed conquest from without.

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11. The Brazilian white has never at any time felt that the black or the mixed-blood offered any serious threat to his own status. No feelings of fear, distrust, apprehension, dread, resentment, or envy have been stirred up, as in our South during and following the Civil War, no sense of unwarranted aggressions or attacks.

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12. Today, the blacks and the mixed-bloods are represented throughout the entire occupational scale, although, as is to be expected, considering the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving his liberty, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status, the darker portion of the population is still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments. However, the blacks, ordinarily but not always paced by the mixed-bloods, are gradually rising in the occupational scale.

13. This rise in class of the blacks and the mixed-bloods is recognized not merely in a Negro world, as is largely true of

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/9/

The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent rela-
tions that exist in the heart of its motley population between peo-
633 ple of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
*563 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this
city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the
Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113) 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175
633 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
[103] Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[249] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
[192]

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363) numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed
through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so
typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113) 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

/12 cont./
175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true
African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea,
Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
•567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves,
under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
*563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattress
291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the
colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of
Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by
the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the
famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great
extent.

*563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the
hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into
disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, ac-
cording to the predominance of one or the other of the characteris-
tics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of
Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in
this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remo
from the word any pejorative meaning.

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/21 cont./
*563 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more
565 in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.
829 Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against
[656] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the
[626] structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper
strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons
of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata
made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes
classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however,
making them identical.

175 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been
*563 a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the
[595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of
the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often
[567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the
[641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political
rights having been granted them a short time afterward, crossbreeding
[829] continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number
of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some
ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured
like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state.
[161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influence
[167] on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/
occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands
[567] to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of
Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil
was made possible and even favored by different factors, among
them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave
system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual
behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women,
in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in
[829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in
order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1):

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

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/22 cont./

175 *563 [829] a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

[829] These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines. Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia. This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. ● [567] In truth, it is in our city and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves, that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. *563 162 The ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks, it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piaui, which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. [829] This results from the fact that in Bahia the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other States. 175 *563 567 161 The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. *563 161 At present, unfavorable social and economic factors influence the conditions of life, the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its progressive diminution (3).

[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

[SALVADOR]

175 /22 cont./
829 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners re-
567 served for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic
182 clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorpo-
797 rate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an im-
portant role in the establishment of good relations between races
in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the
175 other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported
171 slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable
829 "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized,
567 catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numer-
797 ous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts"
and became "Christians," with the same title as the European
colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious dis-
175 crimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the
797 preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly
198 in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the
567 Africans of different origins were able to understand one another.
175 They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated
567 by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended
79 to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received
[585] the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings
[764] and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they
marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems
of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian ceme-
teries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time
to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their
lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus com-
pletely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and
the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concern-
ing certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them
to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them
to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies
(batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of
[177] origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with
fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a
[791] large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

[113] 1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

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175 /23 cont./
•567 Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent,
79 p. 334.

[113] Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors,
*563 the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by
144 ethnic blending: the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of mētis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and mētisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

127 In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and
165 1938 (2),
*563

[113] 2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do I° Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

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/34 cont./

*563 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the
565 boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit
restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The news-
*563 papers and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring
565 of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes
204 received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any
mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a
565 White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
[564] families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

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•[567]
[342]

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1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best
565 society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and
571 the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers
[204] even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

/36 cont./

*563 565 571 576 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious, vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting themselves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 565 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

[167] [567] [829] [113]

1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

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/37 cont./

*563 for many people, is more a question of class than a question of
565 race, "the primacy of culture and of class" having the ascendancy,
one may say with a mulatto educator that "if he has money, education,
and manners, the Black can elevate himself." This synthesis,
however, does not exhaust all the aspects of the problem. A
very dark woman of liberal profession declares that "a Black, in
order to elevate himself socially, must have talent and friendships."
[571] In truth, good personal and family relationships are very
important for everybody in Bahia, whether in trade, in administration,
or in politics. A maxim constantly cited by Brazilians
teaches that "a friend at hand is worth more than money in the till,"
which means that any enterprise is easier when the interested party
is given a "personal" introduction by a friend of the person with
whom he must deal. One informant insists on explaining that she
does not believe money has a great influence on the social ascent
of colored people: she knows several among them who, having
previously made a fortune, did not succeed in elevating themselves.
[156] "For in order to elevate oneself it is necessary not to have
an inferiority complex. There are many Blacks who not only do
not dare to approach Whites of a high class, but transmit this fear
to their children." The fact that the black color recalls the ancient
slaves is cited by many as an explanation for the difficulties that
• [562] the darkest ones encounter in attaining a high rank. "Lately risen
[826] from the depths of slavery," writes a priest of mixed blood, "rare
are the Negroes who succeed in reaching a high level or position.
[571] As for mulattoes and morenos (who are not true Blacks), we can
say that, from all points of view, they live in harmony with the
Whites, at least here in Bahia." A doctor makes the same comment:
"As far as the morenos are concerned, they have a position
equivalent to that of the Whites; but it is not correct to say that
the Blacks can easily attain the highest offices or positions of the
first order in the most esteemed professions. As for mulattoes, one
finds some of them in the positions that we have just named,
without being able to deny, however, that for the métis whose
color closely approaches that of the Negroes, this pigmentation of
the skin creates obstacles to the various careers mentioned. On

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/39 cont./

*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It
[175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial
period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with
17 Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, mar-
*563 riage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but
•567 before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by re-
ligious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese
colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives
with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but
as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased be-
cause of free unions, the number of interracial marriages in-
creased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between
free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition
of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages
175 fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe
*563 social sanctions (1).
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(1) 1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride," Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279.

[113)

0 0 0 These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the

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/70 cont./

*563 872 intolerant toward very black little girls, pardoning their mistakes only with difficulty and punishing them more severely than the Whites. An informant relates that in his school he heard the schoolmistress say: "This moleque (2)

[192] [567] 2. Moleque = term by which one designates the little children of black slaves; it also means an ill-bred, undisciplined young man; may be heard as a synonym for young colored man.

has no sensibility. Not only is he black, but he is not studious."

*563 873 The students of the secondary schools often admire their colored professors and treat them with the same respect as the white professors; their attitude may vary, however, according to the social rank of the schoolmasters of dark color. Some of them are particularly esteemed for their competence and for the gentleness of their manners. Others are accused of treating their students differently by appearing more exacting and sometimes harsh with the Whites; in such cases the students complain among themselves about the rudeness "of this Negro" and secretly circulate names and epigrams that allude to his Negroid features. There are, on the other hand, dark professors who have the reputation of mistreating the students of their own type, information that is challenged by some people; if this happens, says an informant, it is not because of hostility, but because of the desire to urge these students to work more and thus to distinguish themselves from the others. In the past, however, there have been white professors who openly humiliated the black students and treated them with hostility, which sometimes gave rise to violently aggressive reactions on the part of the latter. Some of these professors were still teaching 20

*563 873 178 or 25 years ago. All this could scarcely happen today, and if anything might cause an attitude of /71/ this kind to be suspected, the milieu reacts sharply in disapproving the "racist" behavior. That is what happened this year when in one public school a professor used words that were interpreted as a contemptuous allusion to

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/74 cont./

*563 give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance,
794 and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of
793 a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied
797 important positions in the administration of the State and who even
[554] reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers
who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the
best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very
affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen,
to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of
institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar
*563 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with
794 regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year
554 to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons
of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos
793 Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period
of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should
[175] not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and
[567] authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were
excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century
foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests
officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At
[555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy
orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

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(1). Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

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/104 cont./
000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
• [567] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the
Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five
know how to read and write, and their number is increasing
every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening
the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them
in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered
socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are
the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are
treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial
relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words,
Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect
of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the
antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the
process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups
and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark
individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that
some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people
and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of
Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented
unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region
by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development
of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction,
produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is